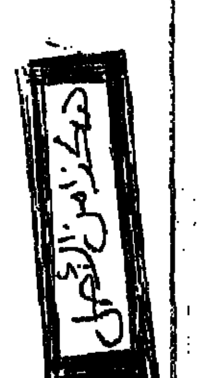


The German Tribune

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Britain's yes to Europe heralds a new era



Britain's 'Yes' to the EEC marks the end of a quarter of a century of misdevelopment in Europe. It rectifies Churchill's mistaken assumption of the forties that the Continent could be called on to integrate while Britain could afford to stand aside in solitary splendour. It also cancels out his successors' 'Noes' to the Coal and Steel Community and the Treaty of Rome.

What is more, the Westminster vote makes it clear that de Gaulle's highfalutin rejection of Britain in the sixties was but a temporary aberration of history. The phase of helplessness and disheartenment has come to a close. European horizons have widened once more.

Now that a ten-member Common Market is taking visibly clearer shape the time has come to consider what the purpose of the new unit should be and what aims it ought to pursue, what weight it is to pull and what role it is to play in the world.

There is little point any longer in the stale European rhetoric of yesteryear. What are needed are fresh concepts and new ideas, a European agenda for the future.

It is not so much a matter of implementation provisions for the admission of Britain, Denmark, Norway and Ireland. Furniture must, of course, be moved around in any house where there are four new arrivals but that is a job for removal men, not for architects.

The plethora of legal provisions that transition from the Six to the Ten will involve can safely be left in the hands of ministry officials.

Something more than bureaucratic toil and parliamentary sweat will be needed, though, if, to quote M. Pompidou, we are "jointly to build something big and give Europe its place in the world." Statesmanlike moves are called for, otherwise the third opportunity to give Europe shape and direction will also be missed.

In a world in which post-war dualism is giving way to a new, multiple constellation one incontrovertible fact is clear. There is no alternative to European integration.

The sweet anarchy of sovereign nation-states is viewed only by the incorrigible as a prospect with a future. Even if it were held to be desirable a merger of Western Europe and an American-led Atlantic Community is no longer feasible with the United States as it now stands. And subjection to Soviet hegemony would appear to be as out of the question as ever.

The only remaining solution is so to expand the Western European grouping that it is capable of entering into partnership with the United States on the one hand and in a position to come to terms with the East on the other.

At the same time it must also be in a position to assert itself in conflicts of interest with the superpowers.

This presupposes a solution to the Franco-Federal Republic monetary dispute, swift development of the larger community and last but not least a definition of common foreign and security policy interests.

Priority must be given to the search for a solution to the monetary troubles and this is doubtless the motivation behind Bonn's suggestion of a meeting between Chancellor Brandt and President Pompidou at the earliest opportunity.

It is less a matter of text-book theory remaining immaculate than of Western Europe agreeing on joint action. The EEC, already the largest trade bloc in the world, would inevitably fall by the wayside if differing economic doctrines were to be given preference over the doctrine of joint action.

In this respect the Federal Republic has a certain amount to make good. Were Bonn to acknowledge the fact Paris might well also show greater willingness to come to terms.

Unless agreement is reached in the nono too distant future the Common Market agreements on monetary union, common medium-term economic policy and budgetary coordination will not be worth the paper they are printed on.

Continued stagnation could easily turn out to be the first step on the road to dismantling of the moves made so far in the way of European integration.

How, in such circumstances, is Europe to gain influence in world affairs, let alone perform the creative role it might and indeed ought to play?

The same goes for internal development of the enlarged EEC. More power must be exercised by Community institutions otherwise the increase in membership will merely make the Common Market still more cumbersome.

Here too Western Europe would be well advised not to sink its teeth into dogmatic disputes. It is not a matter of establishing either Gaullist Europe or an unwatered-down version of Brussels-led Europe post factum, as it were.

Time and tide have passed both by. Ways and means must be found of pressing ahead with formulation of the common will, and both sides are indispensable. The EEC Commission in Brussels is needed as a catalyst and coordinator; so are the individual governments which, when all is said and done, have the last word in deliberations and decisions on many bodies.

The crux of the matter is to ensure that coordination is continually extended. Unanimity, as laid down in the 1966 Luxembourg ruling, must only be resorted to in the final analysis. The majority view must increasingly be accepted even on major Community matters.

Last but not least a European Parliament elected directly must be invested with more far-reaching powers in order to put the principle of democratic control into practice within the greater European framework.

In the post-national era the government club must gradually develop into a union of peoples. A greater number of common policies will render a greater number of common institutions necessary and vice versa.

There is no reason why a modest start should not be made. President Pompidou's idea of appointing Ministers responsible for European affairs has much to say for itself. Once a start has been made this would not be the final word on the matter.

Concerted action points the way to a confederation of states, a confederation points the way to a federative state.

Institutional consolidation of Western Europe matters; so does agreement on a joint approach to foreign and defence policies. It is a historical fact that countries are characterised first and foremost by their attitudes towards others. Common foreign policies have always been benefical for domestic consolidation. The United States of Europe will prove no exception.

For Western Europe today a twofold consideration must clinch matters. As yet there can be no reliance on the Soviet Union remaining peaceful but at the same time there can no longer be any certainty that complete community of interest with the United States will remain a permanent feature of the political landscape.

The upshot is that Western Europe must organise in such a way that even in conjunction with an America continually declining in international political prestige it will still stand a chance of asserting itself in the face of the Soviet Union.

Allied with Washington yet not totally dependent on the United States, ready to relax tension with Moscow yet not entirely exposed to the Soviet Union's tender mercies the Europe of the Ten must find an identity of its own.

It can and must not wait for Eastern Europe. There has been no call for so doing since the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968.

In cases in which Eastern Europe is prepared to cooperate the West must be ready to do so. Where this is not the case Eastern Europe can hardly expect the West to shelve feasible progress towards integration.

An identity of Europe's own involves not only a definition of common interests close to home (the Mediterranean and the Middle East) and further afield (the Third World and the Pacific, which is increasingly coming to be the hub of world affairs).

Is the Europe of the Ten to be a larger version of Switzerland, a trading power without further-reaching interests, or

Continued on page 2



Dutch state visit

Queen Juliana of The Netherlands was entertained by President Gustav Heinemann at Schloss Augustusburg, Brühl on 26 October, during her state visit to West Germany. Queen Juliana is seen here with Mildred Scheel (extreme left), wife of Foreign Minister Walter Scheel, Prince Bernhard, next to the Queen President Heinemann and his wife, Hilda, and Walter Scheel.

(Photo: dpa)

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■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Brezhnev and the French

DIE ZEIT

At the reception given by President Pompidou for General Secretary Brezhnev in the splendour of the Trianon the French head of state talked in terms of the felicitous continuation of Franco-Russian relations over the centuries.

He omitted to mention that the self-same reception rooms had in 1919 witnessed the signing of a treaty to which Russia was not a party yet which rewrote much of the map of Europe.

Instead M. Pompidou sounded the praises of the part played by Franco-Soviet cooperation in diplomatic developments of late, in particular "recognition of the frontiers in Central Europe resulting from the last war and tehe hope of establishing normal relations between the Federal Republic and the GDR and all the international consequences that entails."

At this juncture Mr Brezhnev hinted at the extent to which priorities in European policies have changed over the past five years, including the French concept of Europe.

He had first sat opposite a French head of state in the Kremlin in 1966, had outlined to General de Gaulle the Soviet view of European developments, lamented the "revanchism" of the Federal Republic and called on the General to recognise the GDR.

The General, who up till this point had quietly sat and listened, surrounded by his advisers, immediately interrupted the Soviet leader, noting, according to reliable reports, that:

"East Germany is an artificial set-up established by you with which we will have nothing to do. Make no mistake about it, we shall not be recognising it.

"Were we to do so we would be going back not only on our undertaking to the Federal Republic but also on our own policy, which is aimed not at maintaining but at overcoming the status quo in Europe."

On the present occasion Mr Brezhnev learnt from M. Pompidou that recognition of the GDR is only a matter of time. He was also given to understand, though perhaps not in so many words, that France feels Paris and Moscow ought to have a common interest in keeping the development of German power on both sides of the Elbe under control.

It would, of course, be laughable to conclude that General de Gaulle was pleased to pursue a policy directly aimed at German reunification, a policy differing from that of M. Pompidou in its underestimating the all-German potential.

The basic outlook has remained unchanged. The General's view on German affairs now would not differ from M. Pompidou's. What has changed is the "recognition of realities in Europe" – and France is not the only country to take a fresh look at the situation.

The General too would long since have come to terms (yet not made peace) with the Brezhnev Doctrine against which his European policy was in fact directed.

What the General's three-stage plan of detente, entente and cooperation was aimed at was in the final analysis the right of all Eastern Bloc countries to give their national interests priority over the common communist ideology.

In this context he acknowledged as the final piece of the jigsaw puzzle, as it were, the Germans' right to self-determination and this is why he insisted that it be accepted as a matter of principle by Moscow.

This demand in its turn formed part of his anti-bloc policy and assumed major importance merely in his endeavour to gain Bonn's support for this policy. In other words Bonn was thus to underwrite his tilt at America's international policies.

Two changes were subsequently to occur that the General could hardly have foreseen, the one being his own exit from the political stage and the closer ties with America sought by his successor, the other the change of government in Bonn and Chancellor Brandt's new *Ostpolitik*.

De Gaulle assumed as a matter of course that the leading role in East-West talks in Europe was his and that the Federal government in Bonn must necessarily be grateful for his mediation. M. Pompidou in contrast is worried lest Bonn take the lead in dealings between Western and Eastern Europe.

This is why the French President can no longer simply dismiss the Soviet offer to institutionalise cooperation between Paris and Moscow with the aid of a renewal of the old friendship pact.

He is bound to seek to conclude agreements that leave open the possibility while not irrevocably committing him to a pact with Moscow. Two aspects in particular, economic affairs and security, cannot fail to interest M. Pompidou.

With the aid of Franco-Soviet trade commissions economic ties have made considerable progress since 1966 but they are now stagnating again and this France cannot tolerate at a juncture at which it is under the impression that Moscow's interest in Bonn is due in part to the Federal Republic's industrial showing.

Danger is in the offing on security matters, particularly troop cuts, France differing from Bonn and Moscow on this point.

Paris has long maintained that the East would never seriously consider troop cuts. It is now afraid of being isolated because, of all things only a year after the General's death, France has no plans for the contingency of an American pull-out from Europe and no intention of drafting any for fear an American phase-out is thereby accelerated.

M. Pompidou may appear to be continuing with visions of a Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals but in reality he is worried lest Mr Brezhnev's policy of a Europe from the Urals to the Atlantic bring about a situation in Central Europe that has been the nightmare of successive French governments since the war: the neutralisation of two German states in the heart of Europe.

Central Europe, whose very strength used to present such problems, would suddenly cost France sleepless nights because of the weak link it would represent in resisting the approaches of the strongest bidder. *Ernst Weisenfeld*

(Die Zeit, 29 October 1971)

Henry Kissinger's Peking visit went off without difficulties



Henry Kissinger is satisfied with the outcome of his latest visit to Peking. President Nixon's foreign policy adviser has no comment to make but the duration of the talks and the composition of the delegations make it appear likely that a great deal more was discussed than technical details of the projected visit to China by President Nixon.

It is all the more noteworthy that there have evidently been no serious differences of opinion.

It is, of course, advisable to warn against exaggerated expectations. The Sino-American alliance hoped for by a number of people in the West and already a nightmare prospect for Moscow is still a distant prospect, as the accompaniment to Dr Kissinger's visit to Peking has clearly shown.

On the Chinese side Premier Chou En-lai took pains to dismiss all fears that Mr Nixon's visit might fail to materialise because of Chinese domestic instability. A little later the man behind a new, moderate Chinese foreign policy laconically noted, however, that it did not matter a fig to China whether the US President's visit turned out to be a success or not.

The splurge of propaganda against US imperialism in the press and on placards when Dr Kissinger arrived in Peking must also have occasioned furrowed brows.

America's China policy of recent weeks has also been a mass of contradictions. In announcing his intention of visiting Peking President Nixon emphasised that what mattered was to create an atmosphere of confidence between Washington and Peking. Understanding and possibly partial agreement between Washington and Peking could contribute towards keeping world peace.

The attitude of America's delegates at the UN General Assembly (the debate on China occurred at the same time as Dr Kissinger's visit to Peking) was hardly designed to create an atmosphere of confidence in the Chinese capital, though.

US diplomatic efforts behind the scenes in the UN building to keep Taiwan's Nationalist Chinese in the United Nations at all costs could hardly fail to contrast strangely, in Peking's view, with the declared US intention of pursuing a new China policy.

Peking has never made any bones about the fact that a solution to the Taiwan question satisfactory from its point of view is a sine qua non.

Whatever may have been discussed in the course of the Sino-American talks the background events during Dr Kissinger's visit to Peking are characteristic. The road to the establishment of normal relations is paved with obstacles.

There is a historic parallel that also sounds a warning note. Twelve years ago when Nikita Khrushchev and Dwight D Eisenhower met at Camp David a hopeful spirit of readiness to come to an understanding, of willingness to keep the peace and of mutual confidence between the two world powers spread abroad.

It was soon enough to prove to have been wishful thinking. Ever since relations between the two countries have been marked by long years of tough negotiations, temporary setbacks, occasional ominous confrontations and agreement on partial aspects.

Rivalry on crucial international political issues and cooperation in sectors relevant to national survival have come to characterise relations between the two major powers.

Relations between the People's Republic of China and the United States are likely to develop along similar lines, the situation probably being even more difficult.

President Nixon has nonetheless got off to a good start. He can talk with Peking and can also, as already announced, negotiate with Moscow. Objective debate between the two Communist great powers has, on the other hand, ground to a standstill.

The rift between Moscow and Peking was, when all is said and done, the decisive factor in China's invitation to President Nixon. This invitation in its turn led to a Kremlin decision to invite Mr Nixon to visit Moscow.

For the time being Washington has all the trumps in its hand in this international political three-cornered game of political poker.

Whether President Nixon succeeds in making political capital out of this tactical advantage will depend to a large, indeed decisive extent on the procedure he adopts in conferring with the Chinese.

China's new foreign policy is based on fundamental issues of national interest. To underestimate their importance, to play this tactical trump card overhastily, that is, could prove a fatal mistake.

In a three-cornered contest sudden changes are far from out of the question. Circumspection, patience and patience again will be the crucial qualities called for in the forthcoming dialogue between America and China. *Harry Hamm*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 26 October 1971)

Britain and Europe

Continued from page 1

ought it to transcend the regional framework and bear witness to genuine world power ambitions? Sooner or later this question must be answered.

This will be a tough enough nut for the ten varieties of Europeans to crack. Safeguarding their territorial security will prove an even trickier problem if America continues to retreat beyond the horizon.

How is European defence to be rationalised within the framework of Nato? What is to become of Britain and France's nuclear deterrents, a Western European deterrent or two heaps of garbage?

And what line ought Western Europe to take in order to ensure that in the wake of troop cuts in East and West its own arms level is not kept constant while the two superpowers agree to make matters easier for themselves and each other?

These are all major and difficult inssues. They cannot be solved by bureaucrats who normally spend their time chewing over customs agreements.

The answers must be provided as a result of full-scale debate in the course of which Europe's political will is able to take shape and a programme for Europe to emerge.

Britain's 'Yes' must give the go-ahead for a major debate on the future of the Continent. It alone will provide clarity as to how a major edifice can jointly be constructed. *Theo Sommer*

(Die Zeit, 29 October 1971)

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■ FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

UN China resolution ends abnormal situation



Late evening, 25 October 1971, 4.20am on 26 October Central European Time: the People's Republic of China was elected into the United Nations Organisation and at the same time Taiwan was told that its seat was forfeit. Thus a decision was taken which will have a major and incalculable significance for world politics.

The prior history is well-known: when Chiang Kai-shek, one of the founders of the UN fled from the mainland of China to Taiwan in 1949 he remained officially the President of the "Republic of China", but was in reality nothing more than the lord of the manor on Formosa. But he maintained his seat at the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council.

But the United Nations' door remained closed to Mao Tse-tung. As a consequence of the Korean War which the United Nations (and not the United States) waged against North Korea and its Chinese volunteer brigades the road to the UN was strewn with even more hurdles for the Red Chinese to surmount.

But over the years the number of opponents to Peking gradually diminished while the number of Third World members of the United Nations increased.

As a result of this Washington decided in 1961 by a simple majority to make the question of whether Peking should be admitted "an important matter", while according to Article 18 of the UN Charter a two-thirds majority was needed.

But by 1970 it had become clear that the simple majority for the declaration of "an important matter" would soon no longer be at their disposal.

Despite this President Nixon has been making great efforts in recent weeks to restore the situation of 1970. In effect his Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and his UN representative have been trying to win over the ninety UN delegations of other States in favour of this policy and have worked on them with promises and threats as though in the middle of a domestic election campaign.

But when the vote count was taken America had lost. There were only 55 votes for the declaration that it was "an important matter", 59 voted against and there were fifteen abstainers.

The result was close but still clear-cut. The following vote on the acceptance of the People's Republic of China as the only China (and hence the rejection of Taiwan's claims to represent the Chinese people) was more like a landslide: 76 States voted for acceptance of Red China, 35 were in opposition to the proposal and seventeen abstained.

This is Washington's heaviest defeat at the UNO and the Americans are not completely blameless themselves. President Nixon cannot expect on the one hand that 1971 should be the year of normalisation of Sino-American relations and to prepare to embark on a journey to Peking, while at the same time expecting that countries friendly to America will be prepared to stick with the status quo of 1970, which was in itself a difficult position for many of them.

Many of them were prepared to vote in favour of the "important matter" but when America herself came a cropper on this one they had nothing to cling to. The landslide was inevitable.

The many United Nations delegates we saw on television singing and dancing with joy after the vote were letting off steam after years of pent up anti-American feeling.

Since that Tuesday the world map has had a different look. Many facts have been replaced by question marks. How will Peking react at the United Nations? Conciliatory? Or demagogic and polemic? Perhaps as the aggressive leader of the third world?

After Nixon's spectacular defeat how will his relationship with Peking develop? What will his emissary, Henry Kissinger, bring back with him from the Chinese capital he left just a half an hour after the UN decision was taken? Will Peking's conflict with Moscow which has so far been confined to Chinese and Russian newspapers and pamphlets now be transferred to the floor of the United Nations? Or will the two red giants spike the guns of opponents of Communism, whatever their colouring, with peaceful co-existence? And what will be the reaction of the offshore island of China which is so closely linked to America?

This list of questions could be carried on virtually ad libitum.

But there are still concrete facts: Japan has been thrown into a state of deep confusion. For years she relied completely on America – now Japan feels she has been completely deserted by America. Firstly there was the announcement of President Nixon's trip to Peking, then the import restrictions imposed by President Nixon, which were particularly galling for Japan, then the replacement of Taiwan with which Japan had close economic ties by the instructable Chinese – these are three blows from which Japan will not quickly recover.

The consequences of these facts are difficult to foretell. Perhaps bitter isolation even with independent atomic armament? Alliance with Moscow? Rapprochement with Peking, no one knows, but I suspect that in the long run it will be the third option.

It is also certain that Taiwan will not meekly accept being a province of Mao's empire but will attempt to consolidate its relationships with other States even after the loss of its strong position in the United Nations, and this might succeed in many cases thanks to its highly esteemed expert development aid programme.

We can expect a major cooperative venture by all those who do not want to live under Mao's domination, namely those who have fled from the mainland (under Chiang Kai-shek) and the original Formosans.

In the long run the fate of Taiwan will depend on whether developments on the Chinese mainland are as unattractive as they were during the chaotic years of the Cultural Revolution or whether the great Chinese empire will become more attractive with the continuation of the present peace and orderliness.

It is also certain that small and medium-sized States in east and south-east Asia from The Philippines to Burma will revise foreign policy when this has not been done already as is the case in Burma.

There has already even been a resumption of contacts between South Korea and North Korea, initially via the Red Cross.

And finally it is reasonable to assume with a fair degree of certainty that broad circles in America which are already opposed to involvement in Asian affairs will be strengthened in their convictions by this humiliation at the UN.

But this abasement might evoke reaction in America. Many may say we cannot isolate ourselves completely and so we must at least maintain the status quo in Western Europe.

What about the consequences for Europeans? If they want to avoid future political developments being trapped in the triangle of the world powers they must hasten and intensify their unity. Economic unions must be followed by currency, political and military unions.

Unifying Europe must not leave Japan out of its thoughts since Japan needs support and would presumably prefer it from Europe than from a Communist world power.

It is a good thing that the spokesman of the Foreign Office in Bonn expressed the West German government's approval at the entry of Red China into the United Nations without hesitation. A UN in which a quarter of mankind were not represented by its de facto government could only be an empty shell. However Peking reacts on the UNO stage an abnormal state of affairs has been ended.

Although there are no diplomatic relations between the Federal Republic and Taiwan many Germans will sympathise with the fate of the Formosans. On the other hand divided Germany cannot agree to the concept of "two Chinas".

Now a precedent has been created: a significant majority at the UN has given representation of a larger part of a country divided as a consequence of the Second World War the rights of representation of the whole people.

Klaus Mehnert

(Deutsche Zeitung, 29 October 1971)

First ratification then contacts with Peking, spokesman Ahlers states

DIE WELT

Bonn does not intend to take immediate action concerning its own China policy as a result of the election fo the People's Republic of China into the United Nations, according to government chief spokesman Conrad Ahlers.

Thus there is no change to the West German concept that one day it will presumably be possible to assume diplomatic relations with Peking but that this can only happen stage by stage.

Political observers interpret this as an indication from Bonn that the Berlin negotiations and ratification of the Moscow and Warsaw Treaties must be tied up before the first step in the direction of Peking is made.

Herr Ahlers stated that contrary to a Reuters report Preisident Pompidou had not yet answered Chancellor Brandt's letter. His answer is only expected after Leonid Brezhnev has completed his visit to the French capital.

For this reason Finance Ministers Professor Karl Schiller and M. Giscard d'Estaing only touched upon the monetary question in the most general terms at their talks in Luxemburg.

When asked at a press conference whether the Bonn government agreed with President Pompidou that a European conference would be in no way impeded after the agreement of the Four Powers on Berlin Conrad Ahlers was evasive.

The explanation for this, according to observers, is that according to the constantly expressed opinion of the Bonn government a Berlin agreement must appear as a complete entity before preparatory work for this conference on a multilateral basis can begin.

(Die Welt, 28 October 1971)

UN makes Taiwan the China that never was

The United Nations' decision to expel Taiwan from the international organisation without so much as a word of explanation is being called by many people a historic resolution.

It is not in fact inconsistent since both Peking and Taipeh have always described the island as a province of China as a whole. There was never in this case any talk of a division, no mention of a twin-State theory and for this reason there was not until this year's UNO General Assembly any serious suggestion that there should be twin representation of China at the United Nations.

Aside from all logic contained in the result of the vote in New York this "historic resolution" does not really do anything to clear up the situation and does nothing to bring real lasting peace to the East Asian coastline.

The Genral Assembly has made Taiwan into a "non-country", a non-existent State, a nothing in international law. But international legal recognition of the island of Formosa or Taiwan has been granted by many governments throughout the world.

The first consequence therefore will be that all countries which voted for the expulsion of Taiwan will have to break off diplomatic relations with her. But the island is bound by treaties with other countries, the most important being her alliance and guarantee of protection with the United States.

Have all these alliances become insubstantial? Obviously not. Washington alone has already declared that it will stand by its treaty responsibilities towards Taiwan. Only time will tell how far those States that were against the expulsion will not stand by Chiang Kai-shek. But how long will Peking, now the only legitimate representative of all the Chinese, exercise patience in this respect?

It appears that when Henry Kissinger held preparatory talks in Peking for the Nixon visit the Taiwan question was shelved as "not immediately soluable". Therefore it is unlikely that there will be a bitter Sino-American confrontation before the Nixon visit.

But this only amounts to postponement of a problem that has been set alight by the UN decision, particularly for Peking.

Since the vote was taken Formosa has in practice become a province of the Mao empire. Therefore in future contention between the Chinese mainland and the offshore island will become a domestic affair involving only Peking in which the United Nations has no right to meddle.

Furthermore it is their duty to condemn any attacks made from the outside. And it would be a miracle if Peking missed the opportunity when it arose of solving the Formosa problem definitively and at the same time hustling the United States from one of the Pacific outposts.

In the present situation the stationing of troops on the Island and military support for Chian Kai-shek constitutes a massive interference in Chinese domestic affairs.

And in this light it is particularly grotesque to view the situation on the island of Quemoy, only two kilometres from the mainland known as the most fortified piece of real estate in the world.

The new United Nations member cannot allow such a threat to remain for long. Several observers in New York have prophesied that within the next twelve months Peking will have Washington on the carpet for this interference in its affairs.

Now that the United Nations has made Taiwan the China that never was it will not be the end of the difficulties. They are just beginning. *Walter Beck*

(Kieler Nachrichten, 28 October 1971)

■ LEGAL AFFAIRS

Constitutional Court and the appointment of judges

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Carl Schmitt, the constitutional law expert, can be described as one of the intellectual grave-diggers of the Weimar Republic if it is conceded that science can influence politics.

One of the most important anti-democratic university teachers of his time, Schmitt came up with the theory that a constitutional court would automatically lead to a spread of legal ideas into politics or politics into the administration of justice.

He based his view on the practical impossibility of having legal controls on decisions of political will in a constitutional State.

In other words, if judges were given the power to call politicians to account when their policies were unconstitutional any formation of the political will would be sterilised by legalistic thinking — which nobody can desire — or the government would from the outset choose only those judges who would make their decisions in line with not legal but political criteria, as the government desired.

Carl Schmitt's gloomy forecast did not materialise in the Weimar Republic nor has it yet materialised in the Federal Republic.

The State Court of Justice set up for the German Reich in 1927 was not given enough powers to extend legal ideas into politics or even to reach political verdicts in order to protect democracy against its enemies.

The authors of the Federal Republic's constitution, Basic Law, learnt the lesson from this and decided that only a strong constitutional court could guarantee the preservation of a libertarian constitutional State.

The Federal Constitutional Court was set up as a true defender of the constitution and given extensive powers to control legislation and protect individuals against violation of their rights by the State.

Since 1951 the Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe has kept a close watch to see that basic democratic rules were adhered to and a citizen's basic rights respected by the executive powers of the State.

The Court's judges have time and again shown parliament, government and parties the limits of their powers and given more force to civil rights in a larger number of verdicts following complaints about unconstitutional action. Political life has not been harmed by this.

Admittedly, the Constitutional Court was affected by politics from the very beginning as the appointment of the judges and the chairmen of the two chambers depended on compromises on the Bundestag electoral committee and in the Bundesrat, the upper house.

The parties represented in Bonn naturally want men of their own choice to be sent to Karlsruhe. But the complicated electoral procedure with the necessity of a two-thirds majority on both committees has on the whole stood the test.

Even politically committed men like Free Democrat Hermann Höpker-Aschoff, the first Court president, or Christian Democrat Gebhard Müller, the current head and former Prime Minister of the Federal state of Baden-Württemberg, have in the independence of their office maintained a certain amount of distance to the parties from which they came. There has never been a left-wing or right-wing majority in the Court as the judges show no political bias.

It does however seem doubtful whether this state of affairs will continue in view of the long arguments in Bonn over who are to fill the six vacant posts at the Constitutional Court.

The Christian Democrats were promised that one of their nominees could fill the position being vacated by Gebhard Müller but after reaching this private agreement with the Social Democrats found it hard to find a candidate.

Ernst Benda, a former Berlin lawyer and the Grand Coalition's Minister of the Interior, has now been nominated. He was thought a likely candidate from the very beginning but it was then stated in the press that he had little desire to follow his party's wishes — presumably because of higher ambitions. Since then he has agreed to go to Karlsruhe.

Benda must be criticised for having damaged the reputation of the position before even taking it up. It is embarrassing as well as detrimental to public confidence in the Constitutional Court if the impression should arise that the post of Court president is a harmless position for politicians who have outlived their usefulness.

We believe that this post is so important that a man with two university degrees and with a passably good career behind him as minister is in no way qualified for it by virtue of his political career alone.

This is true not only for Ernst Benda but also for the two other parties' candidates for the vacant positions as judges — Social Democrat Martin Hirsch and Free Democrat Emmy Diemer-Nicolaus.

It is hard to give the lie to the impression that their long years of service to party political and parliamentary work is being rewarded by giving them jobs in Karlsruhe and thus also providing them with an old age pension.

Their political experience and personal integrity cannot balance their lack of the academic standing and intellectual faculties common to their predecessors, among them Professors Zweigert, Friesenhahn and Leibholz and the late vice-president Katz.

Carl Schmitt's sceptical words concerning the future of a constitutional court cannot be forgotten in the present situation. Whatever the outcome of current dealings they have been subject so much to party political egotism and disdain for the posts to be filled that the work of the Constitutional Court in the Federal Republic could well be impaired.

Hans Schueler

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 23 October 1971)

Special committee considers sexual offences reform

A top Ministry of Justice official has told the Bundestag Special Committee for Penal Reform that only two forms of pandering would in future be subject to punishment.

The Special Committee has now entered a decisive stage in discussions after dealing over the past year with the reform of the laws governing sexual offences.

There are serious clashes of opinion over the new laws governing pornography. The Social Democrats and Free Democrats are lined up on one side against the CDU/CSU Opposition.

The Ministry of Justice states that pandering will not be punished in various types of human relationship. These are 1) the pandering of marital partners, children over 21 and employees, 2) partner-swopping at parties and group sex and 3) commercial pandering.

It is in the latter category that the Ministry of Justice proposes two exceptions which will still be subject to punishment.

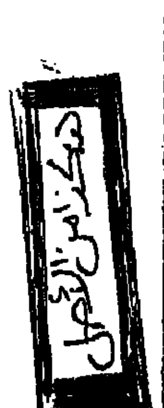
These are encouraging persons to prostitution for commercial purposes, still considered an evil because of the loss of personal liberties that this entails, and the pandering of people under the age of 21 (the aim is to protect the young and adolescent).

The seventeen members of the Special Committee stated that they would also like to see the organisation of call-girl rings made an offence. The regulations against living off immoral earnings may be enlarged to cover this.

In one of its recent sessions the Special Committee also proposed stricter penalties for misusing a woman for perverse sexual activities. Any new law would also continue to deal with the problems of aphrodisiacs and nymphomania.

Hans Lerchbacher

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 16 October 1971)



Ministry defines abortion conditions

The Ministry of Justice recently outlined its proposals for abortion law reform, stating that a termination of pregnancy would be legal if certain conditions were met.

Pregnancies may already be terminated in some cases for medical reasons. Social conditions too should in future be taken into account. A pregnancy will then be terminated if the mother's life or health is endangered and as long as this danger cannot be overcome in any other way acceptable to her.

Abortion will also be allowed if there is any reason to believe that the child will suffer incurable harm to its health because of hereditary factors or other circumstances.

Abortion will be allowed for ethical reasons when the pregnancy is due to a criminal offence such as rape, the sexual abuse of children or women unable to show resistance or in cases where artificial insemination has been employed without the mother's permission.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 23 October 1971)

More severe penalties for kidnapping and air piracy

Kidnapping with intent to blackmail, air piracy and taking people hostage will incur greater penalties in future now that the Bundestag has passed two Bills submitted by the Bundesrat.

Serious cases of kidnapping with intent to blackmail and taking people hostage in particular will be punished more strictly with prison sentences of not less than three years or in the most serious cases not less than ten years.

If the offender causes the death of his victim in any way he will be threatened with a prison sentence of not less than ten years or, in an extreme case, life imprisonment.

The Bundestag has however made things a little easier for anyone taking hostages. The offender can have his sentence reduced if he releases his victim and pays back any money he has received by blackmail.

A five-year prison sentence has been set for air piracy. A similar sentence will be passed on anyone robbing a lorry or car-driver with violence.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 23 October 1971)

Bundestag to consider reducing age of majority

There is reason to believe that the age of majority will be reduced from 21 to 18 during this legislative period in line with the voting age, which was reduced to eighteen some time ago.

Following a move by the Christian Democrats on this subject, Minister of Justice Gerhard Jahn has ordered a draft bill to be drawn up and this has been sent to the Federal states for them to outline their position on the issue.

As all parties in Bonn have given up their former reservations about a reduction of the age of majority there is expected to be no serious opposition to the Bill in the Bundestag.

Varying opinions will be expressed on questions of detail of course. Jahn's Bill proposes retaining 21 as the age of penal responsibility. But eighteen-year-olds and over will not be sent to approved schools.

One important advance proposed by the Bill is the acceptance that eighteen-year-olds are capable of running their own affairs. This would mean that an eighteen-year-old could become a member of the board of a joint-stock company.

The reform will also mean that males will no longer have to obtain their parents' consent to marry when they are eighteen years old or more. Girls of sixteen already have this right.

The Bill contains a total of 180 regulations where the age of majority has been reduced to eighteen.

The current age limits will be retained in a number of cases. A person will still not be able to enter permanent service as a public official until he is 27. Justices of the Peace will still have to be at least thirty and magistrates 25. Another curious regulation still retained is that captains of the Danube steamers have to be at least 25.

The readiness to accept a reduction in the age of majority was prompted by the reduction in the voting age. Almost all political parties expressed their doubts about this trend at first as they feared that this move could benefit one of the other parties more than themselves and thought that young people of this age were not yet capable of forming political judgments.

Since then they have learnt that though the younger generation is not all that eager to take advantage of the right of suffrage, when they do so their voting habits are on a whole comparable with those of the older generation. Serious doubts about the political judgment of the young are no longer expressed.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 20 October 1971)

■ POLITICS

Free Democrats search for a survival programme



Karl-Hermann Flach began his first speech as Free Democrat Secretary General with a brief military phrase meant to convince all the delegates at the party congress in Freiburg of his enthusiasm for the struggle lying ahead.

"I report for active service from the reserves," the 42-year-old Königsberg-born journalist announced and the speech that followed was so brilliantly phrased, politically significant and expertly balanced that the four hundred delegates applauded him afterwards for minutes on end. They were celebrating the rise of a new star in the FDP firmament.

Only three years ago in the same Freiburg Stadthalle another star was born though his eclipse since that date has been so thorough that few people took note of his presence on the table reserved for the executive. This was Professor Ralf Dahrendorf.

The switch from Dahrendorf to Flach shows the extent to which the FDP, the smallest party in the Bundestag, has changed during the course of these three short years.

Dahrendorf's speech three years ago bristled with reservations against worker participation in decision-making. With Flach as Secretary General the party congress began with a discussion on the introduction of worker participation.

Three years ago the governing Grand Coalition of Christian and Social Democrats was a bugbear to the Free Democrats who were then in Opposition.

Now that they themselves are in coalition with the Social Democrats, they are directing all their attacks against the CDU/CSU with whom they governed for many years.

As if the party itself found these rapid changes rather strange, its leaders began to re-discover the old forerunners of Liberalism.

Another professor, Werner Maihofer, the man behind the "Freiburg theories" to which State Secretary Hildegard Hamm-Brücher attaches "secular importance", quoted Immanuel Kant ten times during the course of his speech.

He also made frequent mention of Friedrich Naumann, the party theoretician who lived at the turn of the century and, in the view of Free Democrats, the most important of the FDP's political ancestors.

All the prepared speeches were full of high-falutin' concepts like "liberty", "liberal roots" and "a more democratic society".

Encouraged by old liberals from the near and distant past to seek new pastures, the delegates patiently listened to the motions and counter-motions for hours on end positioned in what looked like marching order at narrow tables and on hard, uncomfortable chairs.

The members of the executive sat at a long table covered by a pale yellow cloth and looked transfigured against the empty dark-blue background formed by one of the giant walls of the hall.

The colours blue and yellow are meant to express, visually at least, continuity despite progress. They were the colours used during the 1965 election campaign. The cold silver used by an advertising agency in 1969 to catapult the FDP to stratospheric heights has disappeared.

With the "Freiburg theories" in front of them, a thick booklet crammed with statements on a sphere long neglected by the Free Democrats, social services policy, the delegates of this small party (total membership does not exceed sixty thousand) expected the executive to explain what the new concept of social liberalism would mean in practice.

Party leader Walter Scheel did not succeed in the attempt in his opening speech on 25 October. His Baroque imagery, a mixture of dinosaurs, parade horses and red herrings, left delegates at a loss what to think.

Professor Maihofer's speech caused so much unrest that he several times had to ask delegates to listen. "Otherwise it will be very exhausting for me up here," he added.

It was not until Flach's speech the following day that any enthusiasm was aroused among the delegates and this had an infectious effect in the long-winded tedium of programmatic party congresses.

Flach conducted the FDP's most successful election campaign ever in 1961 as the party's business manager and has now been rewarded with a majority in his election as Secretary General that must be unique in the history of the political parties in this country. There was only one vote against and two abstentions compared with 345 votes for.

Flach has never overcome the bitterness he felt when the FDP leadership under Erich Mende did not take advantage of the 1961 election victory and once again flocked to the side of Konrad Adenauer, the man they had been fighting.

Flach has learnt the lesson from this. He plans to enter the Bundestag in 1973 so that he can be present at any negotiations concerning the formation of a coalition.

The broad decisions of 1973 have already been taken and the Freiburg party congress had the almost exclusive aim of surrounding them with every imaginable guarantee.

But neither Scheel nor Flach shied away from demagogic means. It looked as if they wanted to sabotage all possible links with the CDU/CSU well in advance.

Flach was however given just as much applause when he differentiated his party's position from that of the Social Democrats. "Personally I esteem Willy Brandt too highly to wish him an absolute Social Democrat majority," he quipped.

Shocked by the news that voters at the local elections in Baden-Württemberg, traditional FDP territory, had halved the Free Democrats' share of the poll the previous Sunday, the party tried to find some way to survive against the competition of the two larger parties.

Rhetoricians within the FDP revived the old and successful idea that the small party is a progressive force always a step ahead of the other parties. "We are both praised and condemned for our policies," Walter Scheel claimed.

The composition of the FDP has also been subject to change. One delegate in three was thought to be a *Judo*, one of the Young Democrats headed by Heiner Bremer.

These young party members climbed the speaker's rostrum one after the other and discussed the various issues in question in their short, often brilliant contributions.

Three years ago the Young Democrats formed a small, scorned and isolated group at the party congress. They were now integrated at this year's conference and set the pace.

Not all the older members were able to accept this bloodless party revolution without opposition. Chartered accountant Kienbaum left the hall in protest on the very first morning. Knut Freiherr von Kühlmann-Stumm normally voted against the majority.

A woman delegate lamented that so many of the issues had been phrased so academically. She remembered party conferences where it had been a sin to use academic phraseology.

The views put forward at Freiburg were a concession to the upper and middle classes where the FDP sees its main chance. Both of the plans for worker participation submitted to conference ensured executives a place on the supervisory boards of large concerns.

Worker participation, the tough nut at the congress and as such left to the end, showed the party (the "party of management" despite debts totalling four million Marks) where its limits lay.

The same thing happened in the discussion of property laws. Conference found it difficult to agree on any clear policy as it walked the tightrope between property guarantees ("We do not intend to abolish ownership," stated Baden-Württemberg's FDP leader Bangemann) and the need for a broader distribution of property. "But we do not want Socialism or nationalisation," Bremer said.

Scornful delegates who considered that the progressive party line was adventurous joked in private that the party views on ownership, though they seemed so epoch-making, actually came from the old land reformer Damaschke and the ideas he tried out in the German colony of Tsingtau.

But no one wished to stand up and speak out openly against the almost missionary zeal that seized delegates, not even Minister of Agriculture Josef Ertl. "I do not want to check progress in any way," he assured.

Klaus Rudolf Dreher

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 27 October 1971)



Newly elected FDP secretary general, Karl-Hermann Flach (left) and FDP deputy chairman, Hans Dietrich Genscher at the party congress in Freiburg. (Photo: dpa)

FDP leader Scheel favours continuing the present coalition

Foreign Minister Walter Scheel has come out in favour of continuing the current governing coalition after the 1973 general election.

In an interview with *Südwestfunk* the Free Democratic leader noted that if you agree to what has been done over a four-year period there was, as far as he could see, no reason for objecting to further cooperation.

Even so the Social and Free Democrats remained independent parties with fundamental differences of opinion on a number of points.

As examples Herr Scheel cited policy on the constitution, on which the Free Democrats were more liberal than the Social Democrats, economic policy, on which the FDP definitely preferred free trade, and social policy.

As regards the distribution of wealth and property, the FDP leader added, the Free Democrats wanted not only to promote redistribution of wealth by means of savings incentive schemes but also to protect property.

The Social Democrats, on the other hand, or at least large numbers of them, were busy developing new ideas as to how to communalise property or gain state control over it in some way or other.

(Die Welt, 20 October 1971)

Flach faces a long hard slog

FDP Secretary General Karl-Hermann Flach is at the beginning of a long, hard road. Delegates at the Freiburg party conference elected him with a majority that can only be described as oppressive as he is now expected to solve all the FDP's problems.

Confidence is one thing and the greater the support is, the more room for manoeuvre a person has. But all the responsibility is now on Flach's shoulders.

Flach has a decisive role in party leadership with this majority. It is hard to know whether to congratulate him unreservedly as there is no certainty that this long, hard slog will end in success. Determination to survive is no guarantee that everything will turn out well.

Flach's speech on the future of liberalism dispelled any doubts about the FDP's role as a mediator and a progressive force in the middle of the political spectrum.

The party's image is to be based on a modern social services policy which will clearly distinguish it from the CDU/CSU and provide competition for the Social Democrats.

The first indications have been made of how the FDP is to fight the next election, which could turn out to be a struggle for the party's survival. The FDP plans to make itself more attractive to CDU voters who are beginning to despair of their own party and yet do not wish to vote Social Democrat.

No stone was left unturned in Freiburg to discredit the views and policies of the CDU/CSU. But this was also aimed at FDP members who have not yet accustomed themselves to the fact that it is only in theory the party is still open to all sides.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 27 October 1971)

■ LITERATURE

Spiralling prices force book trade to economise

"I find it much more exhausting than it once was," said Willy Droemer, head of the Droemer-Knaur publishing house confirming other publishers' remarks that the 23rd Frankfurt Book Fair was a hard and exhausting Fair.

Previously those people coming along for the fun and entertainment had always been satisfied but this time they had come to the wrong place.

That was not only due to the fact that the Book Fair, always the largest literary exhibition in the world, was this year larger and more extensive than ever.

A total of 3,581 publishing concerns, 183 more than last year, exhibited 241,000 different books including as many as 78,000 new titles.

The austere atmosphere at the Fair was in keeping with the cold and rainy weather and reflected the position of most of the exhibitors.

Publishers in West Germany have become more grave though there is no need for the pessimism that is spreading through Britain and Scandinavia where publishers have to make allowances for drastic, if not ruinous cuts in turnover.

But the problems cannot be overlooked, though they differ from branch to branch of the publishing industry. Wage increases are one thing that all publishers complain about however. Last year alone they came to fifteen to twenty per cent.

In an industry such as publishing, where there is a limit to rationalisation measures available, this leads to an above average increase in overall costs compared to those in other sectors.

The consequences are all the more obvious as most publishers cannot increase the price of their books. Book prices in this country may not be a political issue but they are a psychological issue.

Books must be cheap, it is commonly believed. Many people will spend 25 Marks an evening on three whiskies without thinking twice but they would not be prepared to spend this amount of money on a book.

To avoid crossing the psychological price barrier for novels and works of non-fiction costing today between 25 and 39 Marks, a number of publishers have long adopted the practice of not calculating profits on the first issue of a book.

It is only on the second, or perhaps the third edition of a book that publishers cover initial costs and possibly make a profit. This method is dangerous if the number of potential purchasers is overestimated.

If new editions of a book do not appear for one or two years the profit expected is often eaten away by inflation. Unlike other branches, the book trade does not normally increase its prices every year.

A book costing 22 Marks in 1970 will be sold at the same price in 1972 despite the fact that in the meantime there will have been a rise in the costs of printing, advertising and distribution.

That is why most publishers are adopting economy measures and the pruning shears are freely wielded. Production is being limited by some concerns. Molden have cut theirs drastically by a third.

Advertising is avoided at all costs. The economy measures have even killed off publishers' receptions at which the same people used to be served the same champagne, with or without orange juice.

The need to examine all investments carefully has also had its effect on the international book market. The senseless competition for the rights of second and third-rate books stopped some time ago, ending the situation where the basic expenditure on a publication was automatically pushed to an unrealistically high level.

But this is not totally true for books that are expected to be bestsellers. High advance payments are made, demanding high investment in advertising so that costs can be covered by selling a large number of copies.

„Bestselleritis" will continue to rage and competition will increase so long as even only a few publishers like Droemer, Molden and Scherz are prepared to play this game.

Bestsellers are meant for the broad public and it is the publishers' aim to get their books included in the new arrivals section in bookshops.

It depends on the booksellers whether a book receives a place on the new arrivals stand where it will be an almost automatic seller.

Booksellers were long willing to include a publisher's books on their shelves, even if they did not sell, though this often occurred more because of the financial necessities of the situation than from their own free will.

But they have now become more self-confident and think of turnover and receipts. They also state conditions. Whether a book is accepted by a bookseller or not often depends on the discount offered by publishing companies or on their advertising campaigns.

This is another reason why publishers are forced to increase advertising expenditure and sell more and more copies of a book within an increasingly shorter period of time.

Bestsellers have a short life expectancy. A book appearing in September can be passé by the time January comes along. Sales drop when it is banished from the new arrivals stand to its proper place on the shelves.

The problems publishers face with minority literature are less spectacular but none the less urgent. The large publishing concerns such as Fischer, Rowohlt, Hanser and Piper all say the same:

Good works on fiction and political or sociological publications must be tailor-made to the readership in question both as concerns subject-matter and the size of the initial printing.

There is only a thin line between being in the red or being in the black when editions never total more than three to five thousand copies and readers normally have little money to set aside on books, which again is a problem when price increases are considered.

This is also the branch of the publishing industry where booksellers are showing more resistance. Whereas they may have been prepared at one time to take all the titles in a series they are now more selective about the books they stock.

Whereas in the past publishing concerns could kid themselves about the number of copies actually sold as the books would be in the bookseller's storeroom and not their own, the pile of books in their cellars now quickly brings home to

Continued on page 7

German writing slowly begins to count abroad

On 26 September 1959 Richard Friedenthal, the autor of the two bestsellers *Goethe* and *Luther* and at that time London correspondent of *Die Welt*, wrote, "Our literature no longer counts."

Post-war writers could not claim the international literary standing enjoyed by Germany's poets and thinkers before the War. The response they aroused abroad was minimal.

A few days later the Luchterhand publishing house issued the first novel by a sculptor who up until then had been known at best as a poet.

Tin Drum, by former jazz drummer Günter Grass, became a sensation overnight. Germany was once again spoken of in international literary circles.

Ten years later Grass had achieved what no other contemporary German artist had achieved before him. His third novel *Local Anaesthetic* had just appeared in the United States when *Time* magazine devoted its cover story to him in April 1970.

Time outlined the current literary scene, Mann and Camus are dead, it wrote Sartre is silent and Malraux is a minister of culture. Grass at 42 does not look like the greatest living novelist in the world or even Germany, but perhaps he is both.

Response abroad is not the only yardstick for literary quality but it does mean that a work has been examined and approved by people with a different temperament, people who are able to maintain some distance.

Foreign literature has established itself firmly in this country. Fifty per cent of the books on the bestseller lists are written by foreign-language authors, most of them from Britain, France and the United States. At present Erich Segal, Ernest Hemingway, Leon Uris, James Michener and Fagyas all figure prominently.

German bestsellers abroad are rare. The only book on the *Time* list, for the eleventh week running, is Hildegard Knef's *Gift Horse*. *L'Express* has American authors in its list but no Germans.

Writers determining the course of post-war German literature (Hans Erich Nossack was a bestseller in the fifties like Siegfried Lenz in the sixties or more recently Peter Handke) have been translated a number of times but their works only seem to appeal to the German mentality.

Time cover hero Günter Grass is one of the few writers to have succeeded abroad. A paperback edition of his *Tin Drum* sold 300,000 copies in the United States within six weeks.

Jakov Lind, a 44-year-old writer who is scarcely known in this country, is better known in the States than Siegfried Lenz ever since he started publishing his books in English.

But statistics and bestseller lists abroad do not show that German works of non-fiction are in demand. Ceram and Keller have sold millions of copies of their books abroad.

Erich von Däniken's books (*Was God an Astronaut?*) have sold two and a half million copies abroad including 340,000 in Czechoslovakia, 153,000 in Brazil and 150,000 in Greece.

Jürgen Thorwald recently sold the rights for his new *Patients* book in the United States for the unusually high figure of thirty thousand dollars.

Exact Secrets, a nine-volume series published by Droemer, has so far appeared in twenty countries with total sales of a million. Behavioural researchers from this country, Konrad Lorenz for instance, are held in high repute abroad.

The worldwide trend towards non-fiction is not the only reason for publishers' complaints that German literature is hard to export.

This one-way traffic, with a few exceptions, must be blamed on

* poor translations
* recurrent discussion of typically German problems such as the division of the country
* the acute shortage of good, entertaining writers who if they do make a breakthrough like Hans Hellmut Kirst or Erich Maria Remarque are always underrated by critics
* the lack of any information such as literary journals, a frequent grouse of book traders abroad.

Germany is therefore still represented by those writers who were already known abroad before the Second World War, people like Thomas Mann, Bertolt Brecht and Franz Kafka.

The face of modern German literature is shaped mainly by mustachioed Günter Grass and the critical Catholic Heinrich Böll.

No translations of Günter Grass are available in the Soviet Union and though Böll's books have recorded six-figure sales he still has a long way to go before catching up with the most prominent German authors in Russia, the Brothers Grimm.

The only heartening voice in [illegible] comes from Britain, the place where German literature did not count in [illegible]. Publisher Ilse Wolff reports, "We have almost exclusively German writers and German subjects and our books sell very very well." The authors in most demand are Goethe, Mann, Kafka, Brecht, Grass and — Vicky Baum.

And now well known is our literature at home? A survey conducted two years ago showed that one person in two was unable to name a single German writer.

Wolfgang Nagel

(Welt am Sonntag, 17 October 1971)

Most translated German writers (number of languages)	
1. Karl Marx	74
2. Brothers Grimm	73
3. Karl May	58
4. Friedrich Engels	55
5. Karl Rahner	47
6. Johann Goethe	41
7. Bert Brecht	29
8. Heinrich Böll	27
9. Hermann Hesse	27
10. Franz Kafka	27
11. Thomas Mann	27
12. Stefan Zweig	27
13. Hans Hellmut Kirst	26
14. Erich Kästner	24
For comparison:	
Vladimir Ilyich Lenin	222
Georges Simenon	143
William Shakespeare	111
Leo Tolstoi	94
Agatha Christie	83
Pearl S. Buck	79
Ernest Hemingway	71
Jean Paul Sartre	67
Charles Dickens	57
Jack London	67
Mikhail Sholokhov	64
Graham Greene	49
Victor Hugo	46
William Faulkner	40
Simone de Beauvoir	38
Walt Disney	34
Astrid Lindgren	31
Anne Golon	31

TRANSLATION BALANCE

IMPORTS: Books translated into German in 1970 in percentages of the total works translated	
American	40.0 %
British	31.1 %
French	13.6 %
Swedish	1.0 %
Japanese	less than 0.5 %

(Figures apply only to fiction in the Federal Republic)

EXPORTS: Books translated from German of total works translated and offered abroad in percentages	
United States	22.7 %
Britain	26.0 %
France	14.8 %
Sweden	8.7 %
Japan	10.2 %

(Figures apply to both fiction and non-fiction including titles from Austria and Switzerland)

■ WRITERS

Countess Dönhoff awarded publishers' Peace Prize

In Frankfurt's St Paul's Church, the festive hall of West German democracy, the German Book Industry's Peace Prize was awarded on 17 October. It went to a woman who has been heaped with awards, honours and prizes and yet who has never allowed this to go to her head in the slightest.

She is Countess Marion Dönhoff, journalist, political commentator and politician — and to each she gives her own special stamp.

She is a woman who avoids all the clichés. She cannot be fooled by beautiful metaphors. But it is possible to speak of her work at length without ever becoming boring.

Marion Hedda Ilse Gräfin Dönhoff got off to a good start. She comes from one of the oldest, biggest and best houses. One of her distant ancestors in the Middle Ages left his *Dunehof* on the river Ruhr and moved east to the area around Riga.

Since 1666 Friedrichstein in East Prussia has been the family's home. In the Friedrichstein manor house, which Otto Magnus Dönhoff had built between 1709 and 1714 in the Pregel Valley near Königsberg, "the Countess" as her colleagues always call her was born.

She was given a perfect education in the house of a magnate far removed from the usual Junker surroundings. The family did not just look after its estates, but also supplied the Prussian State with officers and above all with officials and diplomats.

Their accent was not Potsdam; they said "Geist" not "Jeist".

Marion Dönhoff studied economics and business management and in 1935 in Basle she graduated as a Ph.D. in politics. She came into difficulties with the régime in Germany, which was at that time stamping its power everywhere and which was anathema to her.

Following travels through Europe, Africa and the United States she worked in the administration of the Friedrichstein Estates in 1936. From 1939 she was sole head of the administration. One could say that she had made it as far as managing director by the age of thirty.

Her father had died in 1920. Like him she could see further than the extremities of the estate and was not afraid to criticise political wrongs openly. She joined the resistance movement.

Then she lost everything. In 1945 she arrived in Westphalia as a refugee. On horseback. On one occasion she had travelled 150 kilometers in three days in this way. If this had not been at a time of tragedy and chaos she would almost certainly have hit the headlines on the sports pages for this long distance equestrian feat. She was looked after by relatives.

She was able to make a new start in 1946 in Hamburg when the weekly newspaper *Die Zeit* was founded. Since 1968 she has been sole editor-in-chief of the paper and is the first woman to hold such a position on an important political newspaper.

She wrote the book *Namen, die keiner mehr nennt* (Names no one ever mentions now) in which she described from the bottom of her soul her memories of East Prussia. The book was first published in 1962 and a new edition has recently come out.

Her own name is now mentioned more than that of any other journalist. One reason for this is that she does not run away whenever the political mud-slinging starts. Sticks and stones have no more effect on her than on reinforced concrete.

It is mainly the sharpness of her analyses and the coolness of her prognoses that have made Countess Marion Dönhoff the most quoted, the most respected and perhaps also the most hated journalist in the Federal Republic today. The fact that her style is elegant does not mean that her pen is in any way blunted.

Countess Marion Dönhoff is not the "red Countess" that extreme right wingers like to conjure up, nor is she the serving wench of the capitalists as the leftists claim.

Anyone who puts as much care into reading her leaders as she has put into writing them may find that he disagrees with what she has said. But no one can categorise her along the lines of left and right.

Her free, humanitarian liberalism, which is not free from conservative influences, does not fit into any ideological scheme.

Countess Marion Dönhoff, who has proved that she can be a full-blooded journalist while covering news events, lives in a small side street in the Hamburg suburb of Blankenese. There is still a touch of Friedrichstein in the living room of the house, but she has long since given up the horse for the Porsche. The Countess is a sporty driver. She looks ten years younger than her real age.

Countess Marion Dönhoff (Photo: Sven Simon)

She has an honorary doctorate from an American University and among the other awards she has received over the years are the Joseph E. Drechsel Prize (1964), the Theodor Heuss Prize (1966) and the Italian Isabella d'Este Prize (1968). These awards honour not only her journalistic skills, but also the civil courage she has shown.

Now she has become the third woman ever to receive the West German Book Industry Peace Prize, which has been awarded in all 22 times. Her predecessors were the poetess Nelly Sachs in 1965 and the Swedish sociologist Alva Myrdal last year, who shared the prize with ther husband Gunnar.

Alexander Rost

(Kieler Nachrichten, 16 October 1971)

Continued from page 6

them how correct or incorrect their calculations have been.

Most of the risk of bookselling has now shifted to publishers, forcing them to more realistic planning and more accurate calculations, especially as their own costs are rising.

These difficulties have led publishers to look for new literary genres and new ways of selling a book. Many of them have discovered a field that was once almost exclusively the domain of specialist concerns — the academic book.

The more specialised a book is, the smaller the potential readership, the fewer the copies printed and the higher the price, with the result that the work is often beyond the reach of student's pockets.

Some publishers have had a good idea. In many disciplines foreign texts, especially those written in English, are not translated into German to keep costs low and not delay the date of publication. The latest research findings are printed cheaply and offered at relatively low prices as lecture books.

The 1971 Frankfurt Book Fair was a working Fair. Never before had so many publishers been seen at their stands for such a long time instead of in the foyers and salons of the large hotels. Never before did people express so frequently the opinion that the Fair had not gone on long enough.

But this activity was only one side of the story. The other side, though this was not so evident, was resignation — resignation over the fact that the problems of the book Fair had almost pushed into the background the actual subject of the Fair, books. "We are", one publishing head said, "no more than slaves to our turnover."

Heidi Dürr

(Die Zeit, 22 October 1971)

Hannah Arendt celebrates her 65th birthday



Hannah Arendt (Photo: dpa)

Philosopher Karl Jaspers was Hannah Arendt's preceptor and throughout his life a friend and almost a father to her. He was always amazed at her great resources of concrete knowledge and admired her struggle to obtain greater real insight.

The spirit of truthfulness in her books impressed him. In them, he said, "we see the effect of a high degree of reason at work, the reason of a passionate and experienced human mind that never avoids the extremities, of eyes that are never closed when it would be easier not to look, of a person who fights remorselessly with herself."

This same Hannah Arendt was born 65 years ago on 14 October 1906 in Hanover. Hanover was her 'birthplace and home for a few dark childhood years'. Otherwise she says that nothing else connects her with the place.

Early on she moved with her family to Königsberg, where she went to school. After taking the higher school-leaving examination she went on to study philosophy, theology and Greek at Marburg, Heidelberg and Freiburg Universities, where some of the names she came into contact with were Heidegger, Bultmann, Jaspers and Husserl.

In 1928 she graduated and one year later reached a small select public with her essay *Der Liebesbegriff bei Augustinus*.

She received a grant from the German Science Emergency Association and began her work with a biography of the Berlin Jewess Rahel Varnhagen in which she — herself a Jewess — attempted to reflect the fate of the German Jews in Romantic literature. But the warnings she gave failed to reach German ears and before this work was published she was arrested.

She escaped and fled to France, moving in 1940 to America. In the States she worked on several newspapers and magazines. In 1944 she was entrusted with research work for the conference for Jewish relations. Following that she worked on a major new edition of Kafka's works for Schocken Verlag.

Then until 1952 Hannah Arendt was working with the Jewish Cultural Reconstruction group which was looking for and collecting writings that had gone astray during the National Socialist years.

For her work on political theory and practice she received a Guggenheim Fellowship award and became a Professor at Notre Dame University. Since 1959 Hannah Arendt has been at Princeton University teaching politics and the arts.

These are some of the facts about the life of Hannah Arendt, facts which on reflection are filled with episodes that were determined by the time in which she was living, the time in which she grew up.

The thoughts of this remarkable woman have been taken down and preserved in her books. According to Jaspers she grasped the very essence of what was new, that part of National Socialism which was more than tyranny and despotism.

She researched into the conditions that led to this case of wantonness by the State. Well-read in the volumes of Kant, Hegel and Marx and with a wide knowledge of Montesquieu and Tocqueville Hannah Arendt wrote her major work *Elemente und Ursprünge totaler Herrschaft* (Elements and origins of total domination).

In this work Hannah Arendt expressed her belief that the National Socialist State and the Third Reich arose from the collapse of the nation State and the anarchistic emergence of the modern mass society.

She stigmatizes violence whenever it crops up among her people, in Hungary or wherever. She met with a great deal of opposition in 1963 to her remarks about the trial of Adolf Eichmann. She saw nothing in Eichmann that was Mephistopholean or demonic, but spoke rather of the banality of evil, stating that in her opinion the evil did not come from any individual.

Time and again Hannah Arendt has called for "humanity in dark times" (1960). She received Hamburg's Lessing Prize in 1959. In her speech on that occasion she said: "There is nothing more valuable to fight for than the oldest and most essential element of politics particularly in the western world, namely the cause of freedom from the evil of domination of all kinds!" This is the maxim to which Hannah Arendt has clung all her life.

Dirk Tils

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 14 October 1971)

■ EDUCATION

Bremen University opens ten years after negotiations began

Bremen's new university opened its doors to the first batch of 430 students on 14 October after ten years of arguments and negotiations.

The new students will be able to study German, English, French, history, social education, the social sciences, mathematics and the politics of labour theory.

The Federal state of Bremen had already appointed 79 teachers for the 103 posts now available but only 27 of these had received written confirmation of their appointment on the opening day.

In the foreword to the prospectus now issued Vice-Chancellor Thomas von der Vring stated that the university was opening under conditions that did not satisfy its own requirements nor conform to the original plans.

The University Senate stressed that the first term could only be looked upon as an experimental period. The extent of pessimism on such a ceremonial occasion is explained by the effects of the political and party political controversy surrounding the new university in Bremen.

Bremen's university, described by the city's Christian Democrats and Free Democrats for the past year and a half as a red cadre school, caused the break-up of the SPD/FDP coalition in the Federal state.

It was also raised before the Bundestag and, in the negotiations over financing the new body prompted a deep cleavage between the Federal states governed by Christian Democrats and those governed by the Social Democrats.

Because of the lasting controversy surrounding the university and the unfortunate closeness of the Bremen Provincial Assembly elections on 10 October to the university opening four days later, the actions taken by the Bremen House of Burgesses became increasingly contradictory. Dilettantism has surrounded the foundation of the university for over ten years.

Thomas von der Vring is the fifth Vice-Chancellor to be appointed and the first actually to take up his post. Before him Hans Werner Rothe, Otto Weber, Wolfgang Bargmann and Walther Killy tried and failed.

The Bremen Provincial Assembly has, under the pressure of the Free Democrats, taken some odd decisions as concerns university personnel and a number of highly qualified teachers were rejected because of their alleged left-wing tendencies.



Thomas von der Vring

(Photo: Sven Simon)

The case of Holz Holzer, the Professor of Sociology and Communications Research rejected because of his membership of the Communist Party, developed into a real circus.

Improvisation marked the start of work at Bremen University and there were no official openings. The first public session of the University Senate took place in Bremen's City Hall.

In his far from ceremonial foreword Thomas von der Vring provides food for thought when he writes, "The public should ask itself whether the Federal Republic can afford the blind and inhibited opposition against Bremen University's efforts for reform in view of the currently poor educational situation. Social reforms will remain a laborious uphill task as long as the public tolerates this situation."

Lilo Weinsheimer

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 October 1971)

Hamburg Agreement signed

At their annual conference in Kiel the Prime Ministers of the Federal states signed the Hamburg Agreement proposing greater standardisation of this country's education system.

Under the agreement other modern languages apart from English can be taught as the first foreign language at high schools.

Up to now English has always been the first foreign language taught. The French in particular had repeatedly asked the government to change the system.

(Die Welt, 15 October 1971)

Number of foreign students in this country increases

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The number of foreign students at university in this country has remained at a constant 23,000 in recent years while the proportion of foreigners in the total student population has decreased from ten per cent at the beginning of the sixties to 6.8 per cent in the 1969/70 winter semester.

Statistics now published by the Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) show that approximately one half of foreign students were from other European countries.

Students of German from these countries are attending West German universities for a semester or two far more frequently than was the case in the past.

The proportion of students from the emergent nations has dropped. The reason may be that young Africans, Asians and Latin Americans only study in the Federal Republic for a short period, leading to a decline in the proportion of full-time students.

This change may be due to the extension of the university system in emergent nations allowing students there to take a degree without having to spend a long time learning a foreign language.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 16 October 1971)

■ HEALTH

First sanatorium for the young opens in Bad Steben

Europe's first youth sanatorium recently opened in Bad Steben. The 170-bed hospital will only admit girl patients aged between 15 and 21. A second sanatorium for boys in the same age group is now being built in Bad Dürrheim. The sanatoria are being financed by the Federal assurance bureau for white-collar workers (BfA) after investigations revealed that more and more of their younger members needed convalescent treatment. For years they had made up ten per cent of the total figure, their main complaints being heart and circulatory diseases and nervous disorders.

The inhabitants of the small spa not far from the East German border look upon the matter like this. "Our civilisation has progressed so far," they say, "that we have to build special sanatoria for our boy and girls."

We have indeed progressed so far. With eighteen-year-old Renate it began with loss of appetite, stomach complaints, lassitude and headaches. The family doctor was consulted and the usual examinations followed. No illness was diagnosed.

But when the girl's ill health persisted she was ordered to convalesce in the country air. Once this would have meant her having to endure the company of forty to sixty-year-olds.

It can be realised that conditions such as this would not foster the convalescent process in young people especially if their complaint had mental causes.

There is no such problem at the Kurklinik Auental in Bad Steben where Renate was sent. Everything there is different from a normal-type sanatorium.

Sixteen and a half million Marks were spent on building the main administrative building and four wards on a sixty thousand square metre site.

There is none of the usual hospital atmosphere in the corridors and the three-bed rooms for the girls. Colourful carpets, armchairs and curtains and gaily-checked bed-linen replace the more sterile hues.

Apart from the normal hospital installations and baths department the sanatorium has two large gymnasiums, a room for table tennis and an eight by five metre swimming pool.

It is here that a large part of the six-week stay is spent. Doctors, psychiatrists, nursing sisters and occupational therapists put movement at the top of their list of priorities. Patients who believe they can lounge about six weeks to their heart's content have come to the wrong place. As senior physician Dr Günter Bendorf says, "This is no holiday, the patient is expected to work on his health."

Patients are given a thorough examination the day they arrive so that an exact idea of their trouble can be gained as soon as possible.

The following day doctors examine them to see how much strain they can take. Patients have to pedal a stationary bicycle to which a number of gears are attached and their pulse is measured at various stages. The experiment is broken off as soon as it reaches a certain level and the patient is assigned to one of four groups.

All the girls that can stand up to physical exercise do an hour's gymnastics and an hour of games a day. Once a day they go swimming.

The psychiatrist is called in after the medical examinations are over. The patient's mental state and character is revealed in a four hundred item questionnaire asking for example "Do you often think about life after death?" or "What do you think of love?" or "Would you like to know how to conduct a good marriage?" If a case proves complicated private or group consultations follow.

In the course of the few conversations that have taken place in the short period that the sanatorium has existed it has become clear that many girls are not satisfied with their jobs and that many of them do not know what opportunities are open to them.

That is why Dr Bendorf plans to organise a career advice service given by a representative of the Federal Labour Bureau. "People who are not happy in their work are more likely to fall ill," Dr Bendorf says.

Occupational therapy forms the third stage of treatment. The girls are made aware of the fact that they have creative ability and can make things with their hands so long as they receive the right stimulus.

But the medical aspect prevails here too. Shy patients devote their imagination to pottery, painting and model-

Münchner Merkur

making while girls with poor physical deportment work on a tall embroidery frame.

Renate was the first patient to do work that was meant to improve concentration when she was made to crotchet a bright red mini.

She and her room-mates, a nineteen-year-old office and a schoolgirl whose father is a member of the Federal Assurance Bureau for White-Collar Workers, like life in the sanatorium.

Their only objection is that the television is switched off at ten o'clock regardless of what is on. This, they believe, should be changed.

They also object to the sport but realise of course that it is important. None of the girls had even indulged in sporting activity before and they believe that four weeks of gymnastics would have been enough.

There is also no shortage of intellectual activity during the six-week stay at the sanatorium. The patients discuss controversial subjects such as abortion, drug abuse and alcoholism.

A first-aid course will be of use later as part of the driving test and the girls have a fully equipped hairdressing salon at their disposal for the cosmetics seminar.

An amphitheatre is being built on the gently sloping lawn behind the swimming pool. Next summer an acting group will work there. Dr Bendorf claims, "Only a person at play can develop himself fully and freely."

A music studio, a beat-room with percussion instruments, a library, a colour television and modelling rooms are available. There will also be a smoking room as the doctors do not want any smoking to be done in secret.

But the girls claim that the doctors have been extremely subtle in providing them with a smoke room that is on the top storey of the administrative building and, unlike all the other rooms, equipped with uncomfortable furniture.

The Federal Assurance Bureau sees the biological processes peculiar to young people as the main reason why so many of them are unstable and in need of recuperation.

"The discrepancy between their high bioligical capacity (growth, sexual maturity) and the limitations of their capacity compared to adults leads to the danger of strain and premature signs of wear and tear," the body states.

Dr Bendorf too believes that the pace and stimuli of everyday life are to blame for any disorders in the physical and mental development of young people.

"Technology is steadily advancing," he says, "but the adaptibility of the human organism needs decades if not generations to keep pace with it."

On top of this comes the apathy felt by the young towards sporting activity. "You can see for yourself. The four flights of stairs to the smoke room are too much for them," the doctor quips.

Girls are twice as much in need of convalescence as boys, Dr Bendorf states and that is why the sanatorium for girls was built first.

"Developing from a child to a woman and the change from school to professional life places a great strain on girls, a far greater strain than boys feel," he says.

Dr Bendorf will meet his former patients one to two years after their stay at the sanatorium. He will then be able to learn whether the girls think that their convalescence was successful. The aim of the Auental Kurklinik is obvious — none of the patients should ever return.

Christiane Dahlmann

(Münchner Merkur, 16 October 1971)



New Hamburg eye clinic

Senator Reinhard Philipp showed the press round Hamburg University's new eye clinic and polyclinic on 15 October. The new clinic, the most modern in this country, has 110 beds with both male and female wards. (Photo: Conti-Press)

THE ECONOMY

International monetary setup fails when economic communications go unheeded

Walter Eucken wrote: "In all countries experiments are carried out: in Germany, in the United States, Britain, France, Russia and Sweden – to name just a few countries. All over a new type of economic politician is appearing, namely the experimenter."

In his *Basics of Economic Policies* Eucken wrote about these economic experiments, and that at a time just after the First World War, a time when the international economic setup and the whole world economic system were on the point of collapse.

It was not until after the catastrophe of the Second World War that hopeful signs began to emerge and were the precursors of twenty years of unparalleled economic boom all over the world.

Today, our minds filled with doubts, we must ask the question whether this era of far-reaching free coordination of national economies for a highly productive international use of labour resources is not coming to an end.

There are symptoms that seem to show that this is the case. Certainly all countries have had to make certain detail changes, which have hampered the normal free workings of the market machinery.

But for as long as the scope of free economic activity is great coordination is such that temporary exceptions to the usual rules can be negotiated without difficulty.

The signals that have been given on an international basis by prices (in the widest sense) are still reliable guides to how the economies of those countries free to make their economic decisions are faring.

This applies not only to the producer sectors of the economy and finance institutes, but also to individual citizens, who have to make the decision whether to spend all the money they earn or whether to save it in one way or another.

Mistakes, miscalculations and false decisions by individuals are thus limited in their overall effect and do not bring the whole economic system crashing down in ruins.

International economics and the international currency setup are not destroyed as a result of the fact that the individual's knowledge and his power to put that knowledge into practice are limited. It takes a failure to heed the signs of the international communications system and an intentional defiance of what needs to be done to cause chaos.

Neither the individual nor the private company can afford to act in such a way. Ruin would be just around the corner. Governments and banks of issue on the other hand believe that they have been endowed with the gift of higher reasoning allowing them to defy all the rules.

Another factor is that banks of issue and governments refrain from counteracting a lowering or raising of their central currency reserves with an interest-rate or budgetary policy, which would be capable of keeping the ups and downs in the country's coffers (the currency reserves) minimal.

Alterations to parities have only a slightly salutary effect in this respect. It might be in the interests of one country to keep the level of employment as high as possible, while another country may be more bothered about trying to cut back the rate of price increases.

A policy that does not heed the signal: "alteration of currency reserves" will lead to the destruction of the international monetary setup however much the various currencies in individual countries appear to be healthy.

The same applies in the case of flexible currency exchange rates when the banks of issue take advantage of intervention on the currency exchange market instead of simply letting a policy of adjusting interest rates do its job.

Destruction of the international monetary system and the world economy comes about when someone purposely contravenes the signals of the balance of payments and the policies connected with this. The international free enterprise communications system continues to operate but the purposely incorrect policy is entered in the data of the free individuals and companies.

Since they both must plan their actions on the information they receive from their markets, even though they might recognise the dubiousness of these signals, economic decisions are individual as a result and these are only correct under the conditions of an incorrect policy.

In such a situation, however, governments with their powers of legislation are capable of altering the circumstances to their own advantage. The obviously incorrect policy is first of all resolved by manipulation, if not by completely hushing up the communications system. With the official removal of the gold standard in America and the decision of the most important industrialised nations to float their currencies the United States was virtually cut off from that information network that goes under the heading of "alteration of currency" reserves.

In addition the movements of the dollar are not a signal for the Americans, but at the most a turning point for the demands they make.

Other countries practise various forms of manipulation to exchange rates. As was already known declared exchange rates are consciously falsified information.

However the currency negotiations in the next few weeks and months may pan out all concerned are obviously agreed that the exchange market should in future only give out signals that have been manipulated. This is hidden behind the working heading of a control of capital shifting.

At the same time the communications system built around interest rates is switched off. As far as interest rates are concerned there are no half measures – it is all or nothing or the whole thing ceases to work. We shall soon see.

In the end, however, when it comes to the realignment of the world currency system there is an intention to return to a system of fixed exchange rates again



without putting balance of payments difficulties into the melting pot of special drawing rights in a spirit of "higher rationality". This would amount to the perfect total obsolescence of the information system of the international monetary setup in a dialectic sense.

If in this way the beacons of the international monetary system are extinguished and perhaps many countries follow America's lead with wage and price controls then the experimenters will have a field-day.

With the lack of information systems that will ensue a commander-in-chief will be required and will probably be longed for. His commands will be arbitrary and experimental. For he too will regard himself as cut off from all sources of information which would enable him to provide the conditions for a free and optimum coordination of individual economies even if he should want to do so.

"The age of experiments is filled with manifold economic policy ideologies," Eucken wrote. "Later generations will probably be surprised how hastily and frequently experiments were carried out."

Wilhelm Seuß

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 19 October 1971)

EEC wants to get down to talks with USA

The EEC is to suggest to the USA that a major round of talks be held with a view to coming to a satisfactory agreement on trading policies.

In Luxemburg recently the Foreign Ministers of the EEC countries called on their permanent representatives in Brussels to begin arrangements for an extraordinary meeting of the Foreign Ministers, Economic, Finance and Agriculture Ministers of the Six.

It is hoped that before the end of the year – probably in November – they will be able to find common ground for such a dialogue with the United States.

In connection with this the EEC will act jointly with Great Britain and the other applicant countries. At the same time the six Common Market countries want to try to overcome their internal currency worries before year's end and return to new fixed parities within the Community.

The EEC Commission will work out a list of complaints to be considered at the "major" council meeting about the discrimination in trade policies being applied by the United States, which will act as a counterbalance to American criticisms of EEC agricultural policies and EEC trade preferences for the developing countries, especially the six around the Mediterranean coastline.

The readiness to enter into discussions now being shown by the EEC, which is to be expressed in a declaration of intent, includes, according to the concept of those taking part in the conference the possibility of ensuring a renewed balance of the flow of trade by means of an international round of tariff agreements.

At the conference with its EEC partners the Federal Republic gave a clear understanding that it could offer no unilateral agreement on the offer of the American Secretary for the Treasury John Connally that certain imported goods should be exempted from the ten per cent special surcharge under certain circumstances.

State Secretary at the Economic Affairs Ministry Philip Rosenthal stressed that in connection with this the need for solidarity in the Six was great.

If the USA were to pursue a more conciliatory course towards the Community starting with Connally's statements the EEC should not close its doors to such an offer. The claims being made by the United States should be looked at seriously by the EEC.

Bonn has shown that it is ready to work in closer cooperation with the other EEC countries and to return to fixed exchange rates at a new level as a preliminary to a round of worldwide talks about trade policies.

(Neue Hannoversche Presse, 20 October 1971)

After the Kennedy Round a Malfatti Round is on the stocks

Economic dictionaries still carrying the expression "free international trade" look in danger of becoming out of date. This important expression may become obsolete. The expression is defined hopefully as the relatively unhindered exchange of goods and services across borders – a condition that the Western industrialised nations looked like coming close to in the sixties.

Instead of "free international trade" expressions once considered obsolete such as protectionism and dirigism are coming back into fashion. Foreign trade is being based more and more on the protection of products on the domestic market, while at the same time – with all the evil power of an epidemic – the State interferes with the course of the economy and in this way makes free enterprise less free and the competitive economy less competitive.

There are more than enough indications and pieces of evidence to back up this gloomy forecast unfortunately. Hot on the heels of the Americans the Danes have introduced a protective tax on imports and you do not have to be a prophet to predict that other countries will follow suit.

Interference of this kind – wage and price freezes and control of foreign exchange above all – is alive and well again and indeed are leading of necessity to constant perfection and inflation of the bureaucratic apparatus.

The consequences for free enterprise and the free traffic in goods is the most impressive way of throwing light on an example provided by statistics from the Federal Republic, which holds second place in world trade and which as a result has been hit particularly hard by increasing protectionism and dirigism.

In 1950 the exports per capita from this country were 170 Marks, imports 232 Marks. Twenty years later in 1970 imports into this country were worth 1,782 Marks per capita, while exports had gone up to 2,000 Marks per capita.

What do these figures show? They show that the prosperity of a country depends on free and unhampered exchange of goods over all national frontiers. Governments and experts should bear this in mind when they try to solve currency crises and economic difficulties with such ineffectual means as are provided by protectionism and dirigism in their many forms.

The right way has been shown by the Italian President of the European Commission Franco Malfatti with his suggestion of offering the United States universal negotiations about all problems of world trade.

After the Kennedy Round we now have a possible Malfatti Round aimed at the removal of worldwide trade restrictions. This is far more sensible than latent threats and calls for revenge. But time is pressing if an escalation of protectionism and dirigism is to be avoided.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 20 October 1971)

INDUSTRY

Siemens stays almost in the family

INDUSTRIAL GIANT CHANGES MANAGEMENT

Without any fuss, which is the way it should be in such an organisation, a change of leadership, in fact a double change, is taking place in West Germany's second largest company, Siemens, based in Munich and Berlin employing 301,000 people. The 1970–1971 turnover was 14,500 million Marks.

Chairman of the Board Gerd Tacke, 65, is being replaced by his deputy, Bernhard Plettner, 56.

At the same time the Chairman of the Supervisory Board 68 year-old Ernst von Siemens will be giving up his post in favour of Peter von Siemens, who is eight years his junior.

Although the approximately one hundred strong family of the firm's founder, Werner von Siemens and his two brothers, only hold about thirteen per cent of the company's share capital of 1,170 million Marks and the major holding is spread over some 300,000 shareholders Siemens has remained till today a "public company with a traditional family accent".

According to Peter von Siemens the family is merely a means to an end, the end being to guarantee the organised growth of the company and to prevent excessive outside influence from anyone *with money* to spare who might decide to buy large blocks of shares.

As a means of pursuing this policy there are those 34,300,000 Marks in preferential shares with sixfold voting rights – together with the family's original shares – which guarantee the Siemens family a controlling interest in all decisive questions.

The Chairman of the Supervisory Board, who is by tradition a member of the founder's family, obviously plays a much more important role at Siemens than his counterpart in other companies.

As Chairman of the Central Committee to which the heads of all companies belong he is de facto a top manager. His function approximates most closely with that of a "chief executive officer" in an American company. He is always kept fully informed about important matters in the company.

One anecdote that is recounted within this branch is only on the surface in contradiction to this: Chairman of the Board Gerd Tacke occasional told his close friends that Ernst von Siemens was once "really cross" with him because he had forgotten to tell him in good time that the company had bought out a foreign firm.

Certainly acquiring other firms is not a routine matter at Siemens, but despite this the company has merged with about eighty other electronics companies since the War.

Thus the Siemens family is more a stabilising factor in the twenty companies in the Federal Republic and about one hundred abroad which form the concern than it is a motive force behind the company's actual business policies.

Nor is the family, unlike in other companies with a major family accent, a abundant reservoir of managerial staff. Only a handful of members of the Siemens family work for the concern.



Founder Werner von Siemens (1816–1892), his son, Carl Friedrich von Siemens (1842–1941), his grandson, Ernst von Siemens, born 1903, his nephew and successor, Peter von Siemens, born 1911.
(Photos: Siemens)

Among the younger generation there is "Peter junior" the 34 year-old son of Peter von Siemens, who is a departmental executive in the Nuremberg branch. He is said to be looking for a trial posting abroad.

Then there is 39 year-old Ruprecht von Siemens, a son of Hermann von Siemens (who was *Chef des Hauses* up till 1956). He has followed a technical and scientific career. In addition there are a number of relations by marriage, but not more than a dozen in all. The only one of them to sit on the Board of Directors is the head of the personnel department Joachim von Oertzen.

There are no fixed rules about selecting up-and-coming managers for the future from the family circle. On the other hand there has never been a case of a neck-and-neck race between two candidates for a leading position when the family has called a conference.

Traditionally two members of the family have a place on the supervisory board and so in the course of time the potential successor is generally sifted out. For instance it had been known for a long time that Peter von Siemens would be the next "boss" on the supervisory board. But who is to be the "second in command" in the family in future remains to be seen.

Peter von Siemens is a man with many years experience working abroad and with worldwide contacts. According to observers he will have far closer contacts with the outside world than his predecessors.

At the company headquarters on the Wittelsbacherplatz he will be immediately next to the new director general Bernhard Plettner. In 1962 Herr Plettner became

Gerd Tacke

the head of the then Siemens-Schuckert works and in 1968 he became Herr Tacke's deputy in the running of the whole company.

Following "constitutional reform" at Siemens, the merger of Siemens Schuckert and Siemens-Reiniger into Siemens AG (the former Siemens & Halske AG) in 1966 there was at first a presidium of three men at the head of the company, one of whom was Plettner.

At first the spokesman of the triumvirate was Dr Adolf Lohse, who had for many years been head of the financial department. In the autumn of 1967 there was a rearrangement of the leadership and Gerd Tacke became the new top man in the firm. Shortly afterwards Bernhard Plettner was promoted to be Tacke's deputy.

Tacke himself, then 61, was generally regarded as interim leader. But under his aegis the firm adopted a new strategy. The most important development of recent years has been the completion of the external reorganisation.

Since October 1969 the activities of the firm have been organised under six largely independent offices: fuel and power technology (turnover: 3,900 million Marks), communications techniques (2,600 million Marks), installations (1,800 million Marks), data technology (1,400 million Marks), medical technology (900 million Marks) and building projects (600 million Marks turnover). These are further subdivided into spheres of business activity.

This horizontal division of the company is complemented with five vertical categories, known as central departments. There are central departments for business management, finance, personnel, technical matters and sales. According to Herr Plettner these make up the cross section that keeps the firm together.

By means of them the most important experiences gained in one branch can best be communicated to another department. They take account of the essential function of control.

However Herr Plettner stresses: "The leading position can only be held by someone in the main branches of the firm that bring in the profits and create the turnover. These are the spheres that reflect the success of the company." And he added: "At my table there are more managers of the production spheres and sales departments than of the central departments."

Under Herr Tacke's reign a salesman became Chairman of the Board for the first time. Before him the directors general at Siemens & Halske and Siemens-Schuckert were mainly technicians, although for years Herr Lohse, the head of the Finance Department was the representative of the firm to the outside world. Naturally he also had a key position in the internal affairs of the firm.

Bernhard Plettner's rise once again brings an "experienced" technician to the head of the firm – but it would be wrong to consider him exclusively a technician these days.

Thoughts of business management and the profit motive are firmly stamped on his mind. His closest advisers from the central offices are nevertheless thought to be Dr Paul Franz Dax, the business manager, aged 58, and apart from him Finance Manager Dr Heribald Närger, 47, and the senior business executive ("Controller") Dr Max Günther, 46.

Bernhard Plettner comes out without reservation in favour of a joint leadership system. He is not over-enthusiastic about having TV screens and push-button electronic systems operated from his desk, but prefers instead to build up communications by closer contact with his colleagues.

"We are constantly holding discussions about a whole mountain of questions," he said. Committee meetings with colleagues in Munich and Erlangen are held every fortnight.

From Monday to Thursday Herr Plettner is normally in his Munich office on the Wittelsbacher Platz. On Friday he travels to Erlangen where the production departments of fuel and power technology, installations and medical technology are situated and where he himself has had a house for the past ten years which he likes to live in at the weekends.

Herr Plettner can already look forward from the present moment to the date of his retirement, which will presumably be in 1980, at which time it is likely that the world turnover of Siemens will be more than thirty milliard Marks.

And this figure does not take into account the three to four milliard Marks of proportionate turnover from "semi-subsidiaries" (Kraftwerk Union and Trafo Union together with AEG-Telefunken and the recording company working in cooperation with Philips) as well as other major holdings such as Bergman and Osram.



Bernhard Plettner

Since 1968 Siemens has moved up the list of international (excluding American) companies from fourteenth to ninth position without being involved in a takeover. If U.S. companies are taken into consideration Siemens' jump in the right direction in 1970 was from fortieth to 29th position.

In the world league of electronics companies West Germany's top dog holds the tenth position. Plettner's motto is that electronics companies covering such a broad spectrum must constantly adjust to the changes on the market and sniff out new opportunities.

How long would it take from the opportunity to make a tempting takeover to the decision to make a bid? The answer: "If it were a really good chance and not a dead duck, three or four hours. But there has been a preponderance of 'ducks' so far. We are not a universal firm in the old sense and have no fetishes about growth, but we do keep a weather eye on future developments."

Risks must be calculable. This is why the negotiations for setting up a computers union with AEG-Telefunken broke down. And the new chief of Siemens considers it unlikely that there will be a merger with AEG (turnover 8,450 million Marks) in the future.

Quite apart from the prohibitive merger

Continued on page 12

■ SCIENCE WORLD

Politicians and scientists meet in Hamburg to discuss pollution

Atmospheric pollution and noise abatement were the two main topics discussed by some 250 scientists, engineers, environmental protection specialists and politicians at a three-day international conference held in Hamburg by the Federal Republic Academy of Transport Studies.

"Man in Traffic and His Environment" was the theme and the conclusions reached are easily summarised. To this day no one has any clear idea what is to be done to cope with forthcoming traffic problems.

Despite intensive research all over the world generally valid conclusions as to the health hazard represented by car exhaust fumes and noise are not yet available.

Anyone who has dipped into the subject knows that some seven million tons of carbon monoxide a year are let loose on the atmosphere between Flensburg on the Danish border and Lake Constance in the south.

A recent survey conducted by the Allensbach market research institute has also revealed that roughly thirty per cent of people in this country feel that noise is a serious problem for them personally.

It would also seem fairly clear that traffic is the principal offender, but, as Professor Klosterkötter of Münster noted, "the extent to which traffic noise represents a health hazard is a matter for conjecture; at present proof cannot be provided."

The results of research into stress indicate merely that noise might be considered a contributory factor as far as illness is concerned. Nothing more definite can be said of exhaust fumes either.

Everyone concerned to protect the environment realises that something must



be done and there is no shortage of proposals as to how to set about dealing with the problem.

Professor Heitland of Volkswagen, for instance, announced that the prospect of pollution-free motor cars was already looming on the horizon. Forty per cent of Volkswagen research capacity is engaged in work on reducing the output of noxious matter.

It may, of course, well be the case that this spate of research at Volkswagen and other domestic motor manufacturers into noiseless, electrically-powered vehicles is mainly due to stricter regulations coming into force in countries to which they export.

Helmuth Kern, Hamburg's Economic Affairs Senator, put one aspect of this problem in a nutshell.

He felt it to be quite untenable that domestic manufacturers should run clean exhaust export models off the assembly line yet continue to market cars without devices of this kind at home because this country has yet to introduce regulations on the maximum permissible level of noxious substances in car exhaust fumes.

Noise abaters also have ideas galore. They talk in terms of soundproofing walls and embankments along arterial roads and uncommonly long road tunnels. They recommend special glazing and additional measures on the part of town planners.

To the surprise and annoyance of the others one of the participants even went so far as to demand that more attention be paid to pedestrians.

The men who put forward these proposals take them seriously enough, yet there can be no denying that the plans all have one grave drawback. They would cost a small fortune to implement and their prospects of being put into practice are accordingly slender.

People living along the country's 260,000 miles of road could undoubtedly sleep peacefully at night against a maximum background noise level of 35 decibels. But the roadworks this would entail would cost 130,000 million Marks.

According to Professor Krell of the Cologne Road Research Institute noise abatement measures would involve gigantic projects, yet after outlining his proposals in theory he had to admit that "effective road noise abatement must start in the motor vehicle itself." And a start must be made fast.

According to statistics compiled by Professor Klosterkötter of Münster University's department of hygiene and industrial medicine there will be some twenty million vehicles on the country's roads by the end of this decade.

The overwhelming majority of road-users will continue to be the kind of motorist Herr Frenzel, a high-ranking Hamburg civil servant, considered to be something of a menance.

"They are the car-owners who create traffic jams twice a day and pour noise and poison into the urban atmosphere only to sit pretty on city parking lots for eight to ten hours of the day."

What is to be done about commuters? For the time being all the experts seem able to do about them is to stuff cotton wool in their ears.

The much-vaunted achievements of modern technology must be called into question root and branch, Herr Frenzel noted, otherwise nothing would ever get done.

As long ago as 1910, he added, Robert Koch, the Nobel Prize-winning bacteriologist, forecast that noise would one day need to be combated on a scale similar to that called for by, say, cholera or bubonic plague.

Gert Kistenmacher

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 22 October 1971)

Siemens

Continued from page 11

control system, he considers, "a merger is only of any value when something better emerges from it. A mere addition makes no sense — two times one must work out at at least 2.3 instead of two, but I feel we would end up with just 1.8."

So far Siemens has only been working in conjunction with AEG-Telefunken when the market was too small to warrant two such powerful concerns working independently especially in individual spheres of fuel and power. Where discs were concerned Siemens chose Philips and for household equipment Bosch as its partner in a cooperative move.

Herr Plettner has been with Siemens for 31 years already, beginning with them as an engineer at the age of 25. Herr Tacke joined the firm 39 years ago at the age of 26 and worked first of all as a warehouseman in Berlin. Most of the other members of the board are old hands.

But the head of the Finance Department Heribald Närger, who is Herr Lohse's son-in-law joined the firm at the age of forty. Prior to that he was a representative of the committee at the Bayerische Vereinsbank.

It is only natural that a major company like Siemens exhausts the rich reserves of managerial talent in its own house before it gives outsiders a chance. Unlike Volkswagen Siemens has never had to recruit a Chairman from outside. But Peter von Siemens said: "We would not hesitate a minute if we thought this was necessary."

Hermann Bößenecker

(Die Zeit, 22 October 1971)

Automobile club calls for smaller city taxis

Smaller taxis are called for, according to ADAC, the Federal Republic motoring organisation. "It doesn't always have to be a luxury limousine," the ADAC says, though this is only one side of the coin. Travelling by taxi is felt to be expensive partly for financial policy reasons.

Taxis will only catch on as a means of local transport, the automobile club reckons, when it is clearly less expensive and more taxis are available.

The results of an ADAC survey now published in Munich indicate that most taxi-users would have no objection to smaller and less luxurious vehicles provided fares were perceptibly lower.

Minicabs do exist in a number of cities but unlike conventional taxis can only be summoned by telephone and may not ply for hire in the normal way.

ADAC also mention the possibility of introducing collective taxis travelling along prearranged urban routes. Taxis would be put to better use if they were able to pick up a couple more passengers en route from the suburbs to the city centre.

Were taxis to be included in the public transport system they could even replace uneconomic bus or tram services, particularly at night.

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 23 October 1971)

Magnetic fields and rail systems of the future

Helium expresses could well be gliding noiselessly across country by the eighties. Following in the footsteps of Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm and Krauss-Maffei, whose experimental high-speed rail projects have already been unveiled, Siemens, working in conjunction with AEG and BBC, also plan to develop a high-speed track vehicle travelling on a magnetic cushion.

Siemens plan to make use of the electrodynamic hover principle, a technique to which only sporadic consideration has so far been given.

Most experiments so far involving rail systems based on magnetic principles have used magnetic fields generated by means of permanent or conventional electromagnets, the train being supported and moved with the aid of independent, as it were static magnetic fields.

The principle Siemens have decided to develop is based on the phenomenon of opposing field induction, first observed by Heinrich Friedrich Lenz in 1834.

When an electric conductor such as aluminium or copper is passed through a magnetic field of any kind so-called eddy currents are induced in the metal and generate a secondary magnetic field of their own.

A vehicle equipped with electromagnets along the base of its chassis would thus be lifted off a track of, say, aluminium by the induced opposing field (or would do so once a certain speed had been reached). In principle supporting magnetic fields do very little work. In terms of mechanics there is not much strain on a wheel either. Yet oddly enough a considerable amount of power is needed to maintain the seemingly "unemployed" field generated by an electromagnet.

The power that is used and must continually be replaced is given off almost entirely in the form of heat that is released wastefully into the surrounding atmosphere.

This undesirable loss of energy can be reduced to virtually nil with the aid of superconductive magnetic coils.

Certain metals and alloys are divested of electrical resistance (the property that consumes current and generates heat) on being refrigerated to temperatures in the vicinity of absolute zero, or minus 273 degrees centigrade.

Current once induced in a superconductive coil is practically permanent. The resulting magnetic field lasts forever too provided no energy is drawn off.

A vehicle using superconductive magnets cooled by liquid helium could thus cover considerable distances without there being any need to provide it with a continuous source of additional power.

With the thermic insulation of magnets of this kind that is now available a special refrigeration unit would not be necessary. The cylinders would merely need to be topped up with liquid helium at the destination.

A further advantage of superconductive magnets is that extremely powerful magnetic fields can be generated that would call for enormous cost and bulk using conventional aggregates.

Conventional magnets would only be able to lift a train a matter of centimetres. Both in theory and as a result of laboratory tests already conducted super-magnets seem capable of generating stable magnetic cushions of six inches or so.

Klaus Bruns

(Die Welt, 21 October 1971)



Speediest train

Krauss-Maffei have developed a train design that could achieve speeds of over 300 miles per hour. The hovertrain 'floats' on a guiderail by means of magnets. (Photo: DB)

■ SCIENCE WORLD

J

Average Motorist seen statistically

The average car in this country does 16,400 kilometres (about 10,000 miles) annually, for four fifths of this distance driven by the male head of the family, the remainder being driven in the main more by the son than the wife.

The average car is between 1,000 and 1,500 cc and in 84 per cent of cases it is used daily. If the family has a second car this does only 12,500 kilometres (about 7,750 miles) annually. It is driven for 35 per cent of the time by the wife, 27 per cent by the husband and 23 per cent by the son.

Only every fifth women in this country currently possesses a driving licence, but two out of every three men have one. Every second driving licence issued, however, is issued to a woman.

These facts and many others concerning drivers and driving in the Federal Republic are included in the new Esso publication entitled *Germans drive like this*. This picture of driving habits of well known and little known facts is presented in statistical form, many of the items prepared from questionnaires.

For instance as regards the family's second car. Every twelfth car owner in this country has more than one car. In households where the income exceeds two thousand Marks monthly every fourth car owner has more than one car. On average, however, the second car is usually much smaller and older than the first car. Thirty eight per cent of the number one cars but 44 per cent of the second cars are five or more years old.

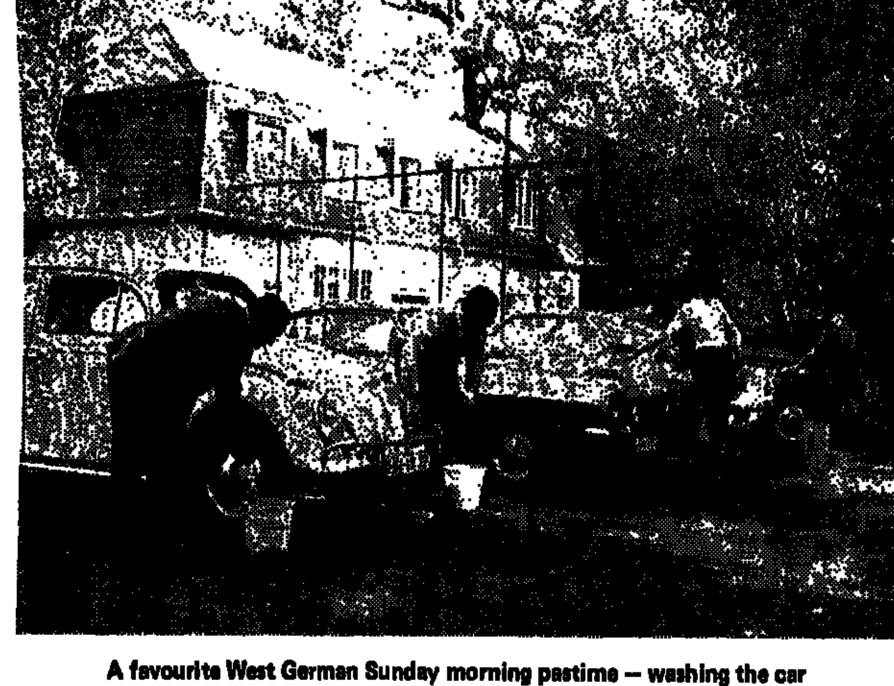
Nine out of ten cars are owned by men, four fifths of whom work as employees. One in every ten cars are garaged under cover at night. Accommodation for cars is more easily available in small towns than in large cities, where in the main the cars are parked overnight on the street.

Three out of every four drivers enjoy driving, every fifth is an enthusiast. Young drivers, and, surprisingly women, maintained when asked that they were passionately fond of driving.

The passion for driving increased with the greater power of the car owned. Only one out of every six small car owners said they were passionately keen on driving, but among those who owned cars over 1,800 cc every fourth gave this reply.

Most German drivers are confident of their talents behind the wheel. Men considered themselves to be among other things safe, quick reacting, considerate and calm. Women, as well consider themselves to be careful, quick reacting, and calm drivers. Only seven per cent of the drivers asked considered themselves to be dangerous drivers, and only two per cent of the men and six per cent of the females considered themselves to be timorous and nervous on the road.

How do owners in this country look after their cars? On average a person buys for his car 1,400 litres of petrol (about 300 gallons) annually. This means that the 44,400 petrol stations in this country dispense according to the 1970 figures 55 million litres of petrol daily. More than fifty per cent of the petrol sold is high grade,.which many drivers use when it is not necessary for their vehicle.



A favourite West German Sunday morning pastime – washing the car

(Photo: Marianne von der Lancken)

Seven out of every ten car owners have a regular petrol station where they buy their petrol and have most repairs done. Two thirds of car owners questioned in this survey use a petrol station as their regular supplier close to where they live, 16 per cent close to where they work. Every tenth owner has to drive more than five kilometres back from the regular petrol station he or she uses.

Two thirds of car owners fill up in the afternoon after one o'clock, taking on average thirty litres at a time. Seven out of every ten car owners get out of the car when buying petrol, to see that the service station attendant does everything properly or to have a look at the accessories that are on special offer.

When the car needs an oil change most car drivers – three quarters of those asked – have the job done at a petrol stand, eleven per cent have it done at a work shop when the car is serviced and thirteen per cent do it themselves. These figures bring with them a few worries. No one really knows what happens to the old oil. Experts estimate that annually 50,000 tons of oil disappears into the ground or is thown away into the sewage by do-it-yourself oil changers!

On average a private car uses 16 litres of oil annually, and a third of this is used up when the oil is changed.

A third of all drivers in this country take their car to have a major inspection once or twice a year and pay something like 100 Marks for this. Every seventh driver does not think it is vital to have such an inspection and eight per cent – for better or for worse – do the inspecting themselves. For less comprehensive inspections, arranged two or three times a year and costing about 40 Marks, a third of all drivers considered they could do this themselves. If the driver did not do it himself a third of the remainder took their car to the local garage and a third took the vehicle to a workshop.

Every seventh driver considered the costs of minor inspections superfluous. Almost a third of cars built in 1962 and earlier, vehicles that basically have the greatest need for mechanical inspections, are no longer taken for major inspections and 17 per cent of these cars were not taken for minor inspections. More than a half of the owners of these old crocks did what passed for small inspections themselves.

Thirty seven per cent of car owners maintained that looking after the car was a pleasant leisure time activity. Forty per cent of owners of cars under 1,300 cc but only 23 per cent of owners of cars over 1,800 cc expressed this view. This attitude was supported by 41 per cent of owners between 18 and 24, but by only 35 per cent between 35 and 49, 39 per cent of the men but 23 per cent of women, 39 per cent who had primary education but only 24 per cent of car owners who had the *Abitur* school leaving qualification.

Older drivers, professional men and career men wash their cars themselves. Four fifths of all car owners wash their cars themselves, and on average they spend 54 hours annually occupied in this way. Every other person in large suburbs washes the car himself.

Forty per cent take their vehicles to automatic washing stations.

When buying a new car a motorist in this country pays on average an extra 160 Marks for safety accessories of the 400 Marks he usually pays for extras. Among the most usual safety extras are first aid boxes, safety belts and radios that can now be regarded as safety devices.

Safety belts are a definite statistical factor. Eighteen per cent of drivers use these belts and most of these own large cars or have passed advanced academic qualifications, or live in large cities and have large incomes.

During 1970 people in this country paid out 53 milliard Marks for cars and driving. Ten milliard Marks of this sum was spent on buying new cars and twenty milliard Marks for taxes, insurance, petrol and oil. The amount remaining is spent on servicing, repairs and accessories.

The State gains much from the motorist. From every 4,100 Marks that drivers on average have to pay out for petrol, value added tax and road tax the State receives 1,100 Marks.

Thus the State along with the 3.3 million people involved in the motor industry gains from the motorist, either directly or indirectly.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 October 1971)

Slaughter of the innocents

The number of children killed on the roads in this country rose by twenty-two per cent between 1960 and 1969, according to a recent report issued by the Federal Statistics Office in Wiesbaden on the number of children killed in motoring accidents in 1969 – 3,284.

Of those injured on the roads the number that died was just under forty per cent of the total.

The older the child the less the incidence of fatal accidents, but in all age groups more boys perished than girls. Road accidents account for 59 per cent of fatal accidents to children every year, and are thus far and away the most common cause of mortality, followed by drowning (fifteen per cent) and falls (five).

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 8 October 1971)

ON THE ROAD

Wages from cars

About one person in every seven in this country earns his living either directly or indirectly from the automobile. One person in four owns a car!

Moreover the Federal Republic is the world's major car exporter and the third-largest manufacturer of cars in the world. In 1970 approximately one in six of the cars rolling off the production line was made in Germany. Cars are this country's most important export item.

In all, last year 17.8 per cent of the finished goods exported were cars, 9.3 per cent of finished imports were automobiles, and products of the motoring industry.

There figures show that cars are now no longer the rich-man's luxury but a consumer goods item for all in our highly industrialised and highly motorised society.

(Neue Hannoversche Presse, 16 October 1971)

Kings of the road

There is no stopping the move away from public transport to private cars, according to an investigation carried out by Professor Karlheinz Schaechterle from Munich about the future of the automobile.

His survey showed that cars of the kind at present in use will still be kings of the road in 2000 A.D.

The Professor reckons it is just as unlikely that new developments such as cars with electric drive from batteries or celles are just as unlikely to gain sway as the prediction of many transport planners that the motorist will voluntarily give up his "little favourite" when streets, highways and parking lots become so choked up that driving is sheer agony is to come true.

(Neue Hannoversche Presse, 16 October 1971)

Wild drivers

Forty per cent of all car owners in the Federal Republic have never had to pay a fine for a minor motoring offense such as bad parking, according to a survey of a cross-section of the motoring public carried out by the West Germany petrol company Aral.

So more than half have come into conflict with traffic police at some time or other. Twenty-seven per cent have sinned once, 23 per cent two or three times and eight per cent more frequently than that. But for most of the sinners the offence was at least two years ago.

The survey showed that young motorists were the worst for disobeying the do's and don't's of motoring. Another group that came high on the list of persistent traffic offenders was people in managerial positions as well as the self-employed and freelance workers.

(Die Welt, 21 October 1971)

Pointless trip

A woman from Düsseldorf on returning from her first holiday in her own caravan in Florence gave this report: "We never once had to go into the town at all. My husband and I were able to buy everything we wanted beautifully fresh from the supermarket at the camp."

(Die Welt, 26 September 1971)

■ SPORT

School sport should be more fun and less sweat



Marx and Mao seem to be at opposite ends of the political spectrum as far as physical education is concerned these days.

Years ago Mao Tse-tung inaugurated people's gymnastics by making a public appearance in gym shirt and shorts and demonstrating his own physical fitness to millions of his fellow-countrymen by swimming in the Yangtse-kiang.

Neo-Marxist physical education students in this country, the games masters and mistresses of the future, that is, reject the performance motivation as superfluous.

Reflection and verbalisation, they feel, are more important than training. Emancipation, they maintain, is the only valid motive for achieving one's personal best time or distance.

Games teaching must enlighten and liberate, having thus far been ideologically repressive and accordingly orientated towards stabilising the existing social set-up.

The terminology is indicative of the tendency. School sport, hitherto a contest between classes, is now to function as practice for class struggle, the assumption being that "mens sana in corpore sano" is still the be-all and end-all of PT as far as the general run of teachers are concerned.

It is, of course, true enough that a healthy body is no guarantee of a sound mind but for that matter the struggle over the status of sport in society and at school cannot be decided by words alone but by action and active self-realisation on the field of play, in the gym and at the baths.

Take, for instance, a class of third-formers – thirteen-year-olds. No one who has seen for himself how active boys and girls are at this age and how eager they are to emulate sporting idols can fail to have realised that school sport *must* gear itself to the criteria of top-flight competitive sport. Otherwise it is bound to end up in an ideological backwater.

In the high-jump schoolboys want to practise the Fosbury Flop themselves, not to mention dribbling the ball like football ace Franz Beckenbauer or leaving the starting-blocks like Armin Hary, the erstwhile 100 metres gold medallist.

Competition plays a major role. One boy would like to run faster than the other, the class football team would like to prove its worth by outplaying the others.

The high-school football championships in Hamburg, which are now almost over, bear eloquent witness to the commitment and determination of schoolboy sportsmen, in this case for the most part eighteen- and nineteen-years-olds.

They also go to show how inextricably linked sport, competition and achievement are. Are prowess and the record rat race profit-motivated and designed to stabilise the system? Surely not in the case of schoolboy sport.

There can hardly be a sector of school life in which the schoolboy is more directly confronted with the value of his personal prowess and achievement than in sporting competition.

He experiences a spontaneous sense of success. There is a direct social bearing in pitting his physical prowess against that of his schoolmates. In team games the one will criticise the other but they will all play as a team. Risks must be taken and decisions made in a matter of minutes or seconds. Brain and brawn are put to equal use.

Can there, one feels bound to ask, be another individual item on the curriculum that combines such a wide range of personality-building factors?

At the sports conference held in Bad Godesberg in 1969 by the Social Democratic Party Herbert Wehner described sport as a "school for mind and body."

Is physical education as taught at schools today in a position to combine the two in this way? This, of course, is the leading question.

After the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City it was said that medals had been won in spite of sport as taught at school. With the Munich Olypics in the offing one can but say that such successes as are achieved will have been achieved without the aid of the educational system.

The role played by schools in organised sport in this country is badly in need of reappraisal. If physical education is to combine mind and body medals and records cannot be the sole targets. Talent-spotting must be linked with health and enjoyment of sport as short-term targets.

Talent spotting

The "Young People in Training for the Olympics" competition held in Berlin at the end of September is one means of spotting talent, involving as it did some 4,200 schoolchildren from schools of all kinds all over the country.

School sport jumped on to the Olympic bandwaggon in this particular instance but one is bound to add that the Federal Youth Games in their present form are not even up to the requirements of a keep-fit campaign let alone in a position to promote the competitive spirit.

Cooperation between sports clubs and associations and schools today is non-existent, apart, that is, from the fact that sports clubs use school gymnasiums for training sessions. Only half the 4,200 promising youngsters in Berlin belonged to sports clubs in their home town.

There is no coordination between clubs and schools. Something is badly wrong. An attempt has been made by one Hamburg secondary school to remedy this state of affairs.

A hockey club made pitches, time and coaches available for the school's third-formers. This was the start and it was brought about as a result of private initiative.

This summer a week-long course was held in the HSV training centre at Ochsenzoll on the outskirts of the city. Twenty sixth-formers attended the course, which dealt with "Problems of Competitive Sport in Theory and Practice."

The course was staffed, as it were, by athletes who will be representing this country at the Munich Olympics next year, by newspaper radio and TV sports reporters and by Professor Gadermann of Hamburg sports medicine research centre.

In conjunction with the schoolteachers and alternating between theory and practice, critical consideration was given to the problem of sport and society. The topics discussed included motivation and sport, prowess and records, the athlete and his discipline in society and sport and mass media.

Here too individual initiative, idealism and personal commitment on the part of school staff played the leading role. Hamburg Football Association lent the project financial support; Hamburg Sports League refused to do so on the ground that this would set a precedent.

This, of course, is exactly what was intended. A well-known German adage has it that unrest is the foremost civic duty, that is to say, civic rights must be fought for and defended.

The Latin word from which the term "precedent" is derived means to go forward, in this context to seek ways and means of integrating sport within the sum total of educational opportunity and boosting the educational prestige of physical training. If this is to be achieved precedents are and will continue to be of prime importance.

The second aspect, enjoyment of sport at and after school calls for a far wider range of sporting opportunity in the school curriculum.

There are any number of schoolchildren who are no good at gymnastics, second- and third-rate in team games and also-rans in track and field athletics.

Yet they might be a dab hand at swimming, tennis, diving, skiing and so on – disciplines that are just not available at school. Given the choice they could well find some kind of sporting activity in which they can perform reasonably well and in which they can actively emancipate themselves, as it were.

The upper forms at high school do now provide a wider range of sporting activities. Upper schoolboys and girls can choose between athletics, swimming, games and gymnastics and specialise on what suits them best.

"He may always be given grade four in sport but you ought to see him on skis," one father told his son's form master. He was prepared to accept the poor grade in Latin at face value but did not take his son's sports grading seriously.

This is another aspect of the problem. Latin is understandably important. It is a must for certain courses of study. Games master, sports reporter and sports doctor are professions that carry very little weight. They are assessed on the basis of the impression made by the individual.

Sport at school ought to have been such an attractive proposition that intensive preoccupation with an optional sporting discipline continues after school as a matter of course. School sport ought to whet the budding adult's appetite.

The statistics tell another story altogether. Ten years ago it was generally acknowledged that three sports lessons a week were absolutely essential. Do all schools now fulfil this requirement? Not by a long chalk.

Crowded conditions

There is nothing unusual about schools with 1,000 children and only one gymnasium, seventy children using it every lesson in the winter.

Sportsgrounds are frequently in such poor condition that they barely deserve the name. Not infrequently they do not even have showers. Small wonder that schoolchildren take a dim view of sport.

In North Rhine-Westphalia two sports lessons out of three are supervised by staff without sporting qualifications. Primary school teachers seldom bother mentioning sport. They have given up the prospect of adequate facilities as a dead loss.

More than one national serviceman in four receives a poor medical grading on being called up. Forty per cent of schoolchildren show similar symptoms of poor deportment and cardiac and circulatory illness.

This is not to say that sport at school should be designed to produce military recruits in A1 health. It is mentioned merely as an indication of the extent to which poor health is spreading among young people.

Pensions for people who retire early because of ill health cost the national insurance schemes 300 million Marks more as each year passes. The Federal government spends twenty million a year on combating what are called civilisation sicknesses.

Herbert Marcuse once noted that "physical training is no indicative of repression that the very word is horrifying." He was right to the extent that schoolchildren ought to be allowed to choose the sporting discipline that suits them best and in which they are most likely to do well.

Hamburg matriculation board now talks in terms of sport rather than of physical training. This is more than a mere change of word. The aim is to make the entire subject more enjoyable.

Jürgen Werner

(Die Zeit, 22 October 1971)

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[illegible]	S 3.—
[illegible]	bfr 6.—
[illegible]	$ b 1.50
[illegible]	N. Cr. $ 0.35
[illegible]	Lev 0.05
[illegible]	K 0.60
[illegible]	F. Bu. 10.—
[illegible]	R 4.40
[illegible]	F.C.F.A. 30.—
[illegible]	Can. $ —.20
[illegible]	cR —.60
[illegible]	Esc. 0.60
Colombia	col. $ 1.—
Congo (Brazzaville)	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Congo (Kinshasa)	Makuta 7.—
Costa Rica	C 0.85
Cuba	P 0.13
Cyprus	11 d
Czechoslovakia	Kcs 0.50
Dahomey	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Denmark	dkr 0.90
Dom. Rep.	RD $ 0.15
Ecuador	S 2.50
El Salvador	C 0.30
Ethiopia	Eth. $ 0.30
Fiji	11 d
Finland	fmk 0.50
Formosa	NT $ 5.—
France	FF 0.60
Gabon	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Gambia	11 d
Germany	DM 1.—
Ghana	cedi 0.12
Great Britain	5 p
Greece	Dr 4.—
Guatemala	Q 0.15
Guayana	BWI $ 0.20
Guinea	F.G. 30.—
Haiti	G 0.65
Honduras (Br.)	$ BH 0.20
Honduras	L 0.25
Hong Kong	HK $ 0.70
Hungary	Ft 1.—
Iceland	Kr 5.—
India	Rs 0.80
Indonesia	Rp. 15.—
Iran	RI 10.—
Iraq	50 fils
Ireland	11 d
Israel	I £ 0.40
Italy	Lir. 80
Ivory Coast	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Jamaica	11 d
Japan	Yen 50
Jordan	50 fils
Kenya	EAs 0.25
Kuwait	50 fils
Laos	Kip 60.—
Lebanon	P 40.—
Liberia	Lib $ 0.15
Libya	50 Mills
Luxembourg	lfr 6
Madagascar	FM 30.—
Malawi	11 d
Malaysia	M. $ 0.40
Mali	FM 60.—
Mexico	$ 1.50
Morocco	DM —.65
Mozambique	Esc. 1.—
Nepal	Mohur 1.—
Netherlands	Hfl 0.50
Netherlands Antilles	G. ant 0.25
New Zealand	9 c.
Nicaragua	C 0.85
Niger	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Nigeria	11 d
Norway	nkr 0.90
Pakistan	Rs 0.60
Panama	B. 0.15
Paraguay	G. 15.—
Peru	S. 3.50
Philippines	P. phil 0.60
Poland	Zl. 0.50
Portugal	Esc. 1.—
Rhodesia	11 d
Ruanda	F. Rw 12.—
Rumania	Leu 0.50
Saudi Arabia	RL 0.60
Sweden	skr 0.60
Switzerland	FS 0.50
Senegal	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Sierra Leone	Le 0.10
Somalia	Sh So 0.90
South Africa	Rand 0.10
South Korea	Won 35.—
S. Viet Nam	V.N. $ 15.—
Spain	Pts 8.—
Sudan	PT 5.—
Syria	£ S 0.50
Tanzania	EAs 0.25
Thailand	B 3.—
Trinidad and Tobago	BWI $ 0.20
Togo	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Turkey	T £ 1.25
Tunisia	65 M
Uganda	EAs 0.25
UAR	PT 5.—
Uruguay	P 20.—
USA	$ 0.20
USSR	Rbl. 0.10
Venezuela	B 0.60
Yugoslavia	Din. 1.—
Zambia	11 d